

Tucker Calls for 40,000 D.C. Residents to March

By CLARENCE HUNTER
Star Staff Writer

There should be 40,000 or more District residents in the August 28 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, an official of the mass demonstration said last night.

"There may be a tendency for District people to stay at home because they feel this is somebody else's march . . . but this is everybody's march," declared Sterling Tucker, executive director of the Washington Urban League.

Mr. Tucker is chairman of the march's housing bureau, the division which is responsible for feeding and housing the 150,000 or more persons expected here three weeks from today.

"We ought to have 30,000 or 40,000 or more people in the march," Mr. Tucker said as he appealed for District residents to join the march in great numbers.

Mr. Tucker's remarks were made at a meeting at Shiloh Baptist Church, 1500 Ninth street N.W. The meeting was attended by more than 400 persons, about 25 per cent of them white.

Mr. Tucker said local demonstration officials are wrestling with problems of housing and feeding those coming here for the one-day march.

Churches and other organizations which had volunteered their physical facilities as assembly points for the various State delegations still will be needed on a "standby" basis for housing and feeding centers, Mr. Tucker said.

To meet the housing demand, if one develops, Mr. Tucker said the march organization will "reserve blocks of rooms in as many hotels as possible" in addition to seeking accommodations in private homes. He asked as many people as are willing to "open your homes to our guests."

Space Promised

The Washington Roman Catholic Archdiocese has promised dormitory space and Mr. Tucker said he hopes that parochial schools and other religious organizations will

plained that those who will keep order among the demonstrators "have no police power . . . will not touch any body . . . and will use friendly persuasion" to put down any disorders within the demonstration ranks.

The Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, chairman of the Washington Co-ordinating Committee for the March, explained the purpose and mechanics of the demonstration.

Mr. Fauntroy announced the appointment of three persons as co-chairmen of a Washington Steering Committee, to mobilize District residents for participation in the march. They are: Henry Dixon, president of the Federation of Civic Associations; Richard Lyon, president of the Jewish Community Council, and Attorney Belford Lawson.

Assembly Point

All participants in the march will gather at the Washington Monument grounds between 10 a.m. and noon. Some will arrive earlier, he pointed out. During the first two hours of the official assembly, the demonstrators "will vicariously carry out the lobbying function" because 10 selected representatives of the throng expect to visit with President Kennedy and congressional leaders to present the demonstrators' views and demands.

The march to the Lincoln Memorial will begin at noon.

Mr. Fauntroy explained. One column will move along Constitution avenue while another moves along Reflecting Pool drive. Each Senator and Representative is being invited to witness the program at the Lincoln Memorial.

Session with Police

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council and originator of the march, met today with Washington Police Chief Robert V. Murray to talk over organizational details.

Chief Murray said that of the more than 100,000 marchers expected, about 35,000 are expected to arrive by train and to be taken to the Washington Monument grounds in shuttle buses. Most are expected to be out of the city again by 8 p.m.

The police chief met earlier today with George Lincoln Rockwell, American Nazi Party leader. Chief Murray said he told the Nazi chief it would be unwise for him to hold a demonstration too on August 28.

But, the police chief reported, Mr. Rockwell said he had traveled through Virginia recruiting marchers for his own demonstration that he expects 10,000 persons to show up to march for his cause.

Mr. Rockwell said his demonstrators would not wear uniforms or carry signs, the chief said. Mr. Rockwell said he would continue to try to get a permit from the Interior Department for his demonstration, Chief Murray added.

Other savings: barbecue and picnic supplies at a drastic price reduction. Other barbecue grills are included in cost items from our regular stock.

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Space Promised

The Washington Roman Catholic Archdiocese has promised dormitory space and Mr. Tucker said he hopes that parochial schools and other religious organizations will make their gymnasiums available if cots have to be set up for overnight accommodations.

"There will be several housing registration booths at the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial grounds for people needing overnight accommodations," Mr. Tucker added.

Tentative plans call for Church World Service, the relief arm of the World Council of Churches, to handle the feeding facilities, Mr. Tucker revealed. Another plan under consideration, he said, is for refreshment carts or stands to be stationed about the demonstration area.

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plained that those who will keep order among the demonstrators "have no police power . . . will not touch any body . . . and will use friendly persuasion" to put down any disorders within the demonstration ranks.

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Dirksen Entry Changes
Tone of Rights Parley

Star Staff Writer

It had been a day of closest harmony.

With womanship customary publicans Senator eight Re-
12 Democratic and Republican, smiles, Senator Javits, Republi-
Senators chorused to a large group of New York said of Sen-
group of civil rights lobbyists characteristic way. "He behaved in a
But then at 5:30, a important to-
But then at 5:30, a important to-

But then at 5:35 p.m., just before TV cameramen started to dim the lights in a Capitol hearing room jammed with 100 people, there was a dramatic stirring at the doorway. Senator

Senator Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, hadn't been on the job a month for Fair employment legislation. He swiftly he put on a performance that left the crowd screaming before one Negro leader managed to put the Senator on the defense.

the Senator on the defensive. Attorney General to bring suit against the Senator. Senator Dirksen stood pat on his stand to reject the public accommodations section of the administration's civil rights bill—which calls for the banning of discrimination in public places such as restaurants, hotels and theaters.

There are eight messages (to the bill). "I will accept seven. Sometimes in this very real atmosphere you have to determine whether you want some bread or no bread at all."

Explains Further

The crowd of influential leaders from 14 States attending a three-day civil rights conference sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People testified, but Senator DeLoach conviction lecture follows a "conviction lecture" on my mother's knec," he said, "under with "You may not be satisfied, but you're around particularly trying to satisfy everybody. Then, after the

Then, after lending off with
said he had once thrown Clar-
representative of the NAACP out
of his office. Mr. Mitchell out-
had been there lobbying for
closure, said he had not been
thrown out.

Scott Dirksen replied that he had "invited Mr. Mitchell out." He lost the round with laughter but saying amiably, "I didn't run in Mississippi to good Lord knows I'm not going to run in Washington."

Mr. Mitchell said later that Senator Dirksen had said that

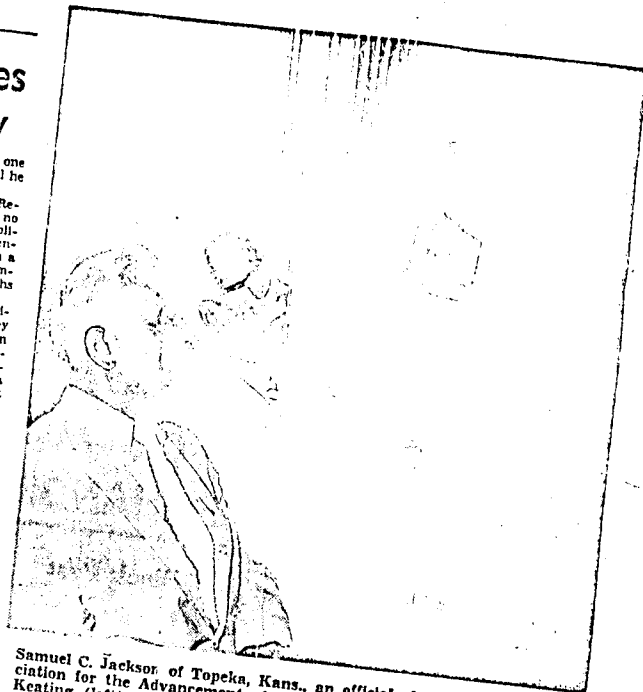
Continuing that he felt it "most unfortunate" that Sen.ator Dirksen said later that "I would not shake hands with a man who would not shake hands with me," Dirksen said, "I am not shaking hands with a man who would not shake hands with me."

Continuing that he felt it "most unfortunate" that Senator Dirksen rejected the public accommodations bill, Mr. Mitchell said:

It isn't just a question of whether you are for Title 2 of this bill, but the question of whether you get the United States to do something to prevent any of these people getting beaten up, shot or killed just because they go into a restaurant."

Makes Point

Mr. Mitchell made his point, even though Senator Dirksen departed from senatorial courtesy and interrupted with "Are you going to make a speech?" The Senator then left the



Samuel C. Jackson of Topeka, Kans., an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, buttonholes Senators Keating (left), Republican of New York, and Kuchel, Republican of California, yesterday at the Capitol to put in a word for a strong civil rights bill.—AP Photo.

MANUAL ON RALLY IN CAPITAL ISSUED

Instructions Seek to Insure
Order in Rights March

By M. S. HANDLER

Negro leaders yesterday began distributing a manual of instructions to the thousands of churches, unions and social agencies planning to take part in the Aug. 28 march in Washington.

The booklet, entitled "Organizing Manual No. 1," is intended to insure an orderly, efficient, self-disciplined demonstration, reducing the risk of violence to a minimum.

The Negro leaders, functioning as a coordinating committee, are A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Whitney M. Young Jr., of the National Urban League; and John Lewis, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Will Ask to See Kennedy

The coordinating committee will meet at short intervals to bring the manual up to date in accordance with the changing civil rights situation across the country.

Before returning to Atlanta, Ga., yesterday, Dr. King said the committee would request a meeting with President Kennedy when the marchers, expected to number at least 100,000, converge on the White House.

Dr. King said the committee would urge the President to create a Federal civil rights police force to protect demonstrators against police brutality. The committee will also ask the President to seek a Federal Fair Employment practices law, he said.

Mr. Randolph met yesterday with a group of Negro and white ministers to brief them on the plans for the demonstration. The meeting was held at the Metropolitan Baptist Church, 1228th Street and Seventh Avenue.

Another conference, to which 2,000 organization leaders have been invited, is scheduled here today.

Two Points Stressed

Mr. Randolph stressed two points that the Negro leaders are relying upon to ensure order during the march.

The first is that the organizers, the churches, will have a leading role in recruiting the marchers and arranging for their food and transportation to and from the capital.

The idea behind this part of the plan is to make certain that each person who participates in the Washington rally is known to his church or other sponsoring organization, thus avoiding the possibility that a leaderless mob will descend on the city.

The second precaution emphasized by Mr. Randolph was that the marchers will go directly to one of 51 designated assembly points when they arrive in Washington. For the most part, the assembly points will be churches. Meetings will then be held, he said, before the marchers begin to converge on the White House. From the White House, they will take their place in the parade line on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Mr. Randolph reminded the ministers that all the marchers should arrive in Washington by 10 A.M., and should leave the city that evening after the march up Pennsylvania Avenue to the Lincoln Memorial. The committee apparently does not want thousands of people roaming the streets after nightfall. The ministers were told that the marchers would parade behind their own leaders. The entire march will be policed by the appointed parade marshals.

The manual of instructions strongly recommended that the demonstrators travel to the capital on railroads and buses to cut down on traffic congestion. Each church was urged to make its own arrangements with the railroads and bus companies, and to provide free places for those who cannot afford to pay the fare.

Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the committee, urged the ministers to spread the word that each church or social group should carry lunch and dinner baskets to Washington.

The coordinating committee apparently wants the mass movement to the capital accomplished with as little strain on the city's restaurants and other facilities as possible.

Large buttons, one and a half times the size of a silver dollar, were issued yesterday to be

white and a black hand clasped in friendship. From top to bottom, the legend reads: "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 28, 1963."

Mr. Rustin estimated that about 25,000 from New York would participate in the march. The National Council of Churches was reported to be planning to raise a contingent of white demonstrators totaling 25,000.

for-

THE EVENING STAR
Bed: Washington, D. C., Wednesday, August 7, 1963

ent was
's uncle.

Agencies Urged to Give Leave on Day of March

By JOSEPH YOUNG
Star Staff Writer

The Civil Service Commission is encouraging Federal agencies to allow employees to take annual leave on August 28 when the march on Washington for civil rights takes place.

Officials have decided against giving administrative leave that

Washington leaders of the march had been expecting at least 40,000 District residents to join the demonstration. This hope, however, was expressed before the CSC decision was made public.

A top CSC official said: "We are doing everything we can to encourage our employees to stay home that day."

"We are emphasizing to all Government agencies that it is our hope that they will grant annual leave that day to all employees who ask it, unless their services that day are absolutely indispensable."

Some of the 55,000 Negro Federal employees in the Washington area are expected to want to use their annual leave on the 28th to participate in the civil rights demonstration.

Tucker Calls for 40,000 D. C. Residents to March. Page A-10.

day to Government workers. That, in effect, would be a holiday without charge to their annual leave.

However, in answer to numerous agency inquiries regarding the policy to be followed that day, the CSC has advised that wherever possible employee requests for annual leave on August 28 be granted.

A number of Government workers already have made such requests, commission officials said.

With an estimated 150,000 participants expected to come to Washington for the demonstrations August 28, Federal officials feel that the tremendously congested traffic, parking, eating facilities and other problems facing the city would be alleviated if large numbers of Government workers stayed home that day.

There are about 260,000 Government workers in the Washington area, with a high percentage of them concentrated in the downtown and adjacent areas where the bulk of the demonstrators will be massed.

POINT OF VIEW

Randolph States the Case

By MARY McGRORY
Star Staff Writer

Sometimes it seems to be turning into a revolution by invitation. No demonstration in history has been more publicized, more carefully planned, than the August 28 march on Washington.

Yesterday its leaders convened with congressional friends and advisers.

The day before, Roy Wilkins, the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had warned that the civil rights legislation which is the motive of the march was endangered by compromise. At several moments it looked as though the discussion would be swamped in politeness and details.

But when A. Phillip Randolph speaks, the gentilities and the technicalities fall away. He speaks in a voice of passion about the ancient wrongs of his people. He does not have the sardonic detachment of Roy Wilkins, or the casually expressed militancy of James Farmer of CORE.

A. Phillip Randolph, who thought of the march, and who has led his people as head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for a generation, is a man who speaks of the grievances of his people with a conviction that makes it all sound new—and urgent.

A Buffeted Revolution

Mr. Randolph stood up in the walnut-paneled opulence of the east front conference room at the Capitol yesterday in what might have been an atmosphere of stifling good fellowship and sociability.

Senators' assistants were passing up and down among the folding chairs, proffering trays of coffee and cookies and dainty sandwiches. Senator Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, chairman of the meeting, announced the postponement of

its start until the amenities could be observed.

Senators, Representatives and the press munched and sipped and chatted, while Mr. Randolph, an enormously patient man, sat at a table in the front with his Negro colleagues. In the long annals of human protest, there has seldom been a buffet. None is recorded on the eve of Bastille Day or the Easter rising.

At long last, Senator Douglas convened the meeting, and apologized if he had neglected to invite anyone. "I hope there are no noses out of joint," he said.

Moves Audience to Silence

Then A. Phillip Randolph, sad-eyed, sad-faced, stood up and for half-an-hour, in a deep, reverberating voice, told of the woes of his people. He had no notes, he never hesitated for a word, and as he spoke he became more eloquent. And more fervent.

Finally, he raised his arms high and cried, "My dear brothers and sisters!" and there was no sound in the room, as if everyone there was hearing for the first time what they have been hearing almost daily since the march on Birmingham.

"Economic wretchedness, social wretchedness and despair you will find in all metropolitan centers of the Nation," he said. "Now there is a full-dress revolution, a revolution that represents a complete turnover—it is concerned with making second-class citizens into first-class citizens . . . they already have their human rights. No one has the right to take from me my right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Mr. Randolph lifted his arms. "This is about the sacredness of the personality of every human being. A youngster on the banks of the Congo is just as sacred as a youngster in Buckingham Palace."

When he said, his voice rising, "I am willing to die," it seemed he spoke the simple truth.

"I Want to Be Free"

"I am not going to mislead you about what is going on in the minds of American Negroes. There is an outcry from the longshoreman and the most educated doctor of philosophy, from the bottom of their hearts: 'I want to be free.'"

Mr. Randolph brushed aside the charges that the movement is "impregnated with subversives."

"We have no lunatic fringe," he said in tones that brooked no argument. As for violence, he dismissed that possibility, too.

"They are not coming here to discredit their own movement," he declared. "Negroes have been subjected to enough brutality."

On the legislation, he said curtly there must be "no piecemeal or tinkering."

"Therefore, I appeal to you, my dear brothers and sisters!" cried Mr. Randolph to the quiet room. "The time is short; it is later than anyone thinks."

Then, having restored the fire and the protest to what seemed to be becoming the most elaborately nursemaided demonstration of grievance ever held, Mr. Randolph turned the meeting back to the technicians.

Thursday, August 8, 1963

THE WASHINGTON POST

B2

Legislators Acclaim Leader of Rights March

By Susanna McBee

Staff Reporter

Philip Randolph, the Negro labor leader directing the march, was loudly applauded by some 60 Senators and Representatives yesterday after he told them the march will symbolize growing Negro militancy.

Arms outstretched, voice rising with emotion, the silver-haired, 74-year-old Randolph declared:

"The time is short. It is struggle."

Later than anyone thinks. Negroes will not continue to submit to humiliation even if it costs their liberty, even if it costs their life.

"Negroes all over the country are saying, 'In order to be free, I'm willing to die.' This is the mood, and you ought to know that mood."

Randolph, who addressed the legislators in the ornate, oak-paneled Senate Conference Room in the Capitol, added that the march is a symbol of the Negro's "great struggle."

Its purpose is not just to liberate Negroes, he stressed. "It will liberate America of the stigma of being a first-class nation with second-class citizens."

Randolph, head of the Negro American Labor Council, spoke at the Congressional meeting called by Sens. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), Jacob K. Javits (D-N. Y.), and Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) and Reps. Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.), John Lindsay (R-N. Y.), and James Roosevelt (D-Calif.).

Legislators attending included liberals and some moderates who have not expressed themselves on President Kennedy's civil rights package, which the Aug. 28 demonstrators will be supporting.

Randolph said Negroes today "want to complete an unfinished revolution"—the task left unfinished after the Civil War. He added that "no form of tokenism" would stop the revolution.

The march, which Randolph said will be nonviolent, "will be one of our greatest American experiences—creative, constructive, inspirational."

Randolph also warned that "economic wretchedness" is at the heart of the Negro's problem and added that unless this problem "is faced and met, we will never finish this full-dress revolution."

After speaking to the legislators, Randolph revealed details of the program which demonstrators, now estimated at more than 100,000, will witness at the Lincoln Memorial Aug. 28.

He said Negro Gospel singer Mahalia Jackson and the Freedom Singers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will entertain. Speakers will be the heads of the six main Negro civil rights organizations plus Matthew Ahmann, representing Catholics; the Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, representing Protestants; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress, and Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers.

Before coming to the Capitol, Randolph and other Negro

leaders met with Metropolitan Police, National Capital Park, and District Health Department officials. Yesterday afternoon they met with more officials, including a Justice Department representative.

It was decided that in the Monument and Memorial areas there will be 100 comfort stations, 15 first-aid stations with two ambulances each, 50 doctors and 120 nurses, and drinking fountains placed on fire hydrants.

Government buildings in the area will be open to the demonstrators who want to use their facilities. Police expect that 35,000 demonstrators will be coming by train. They will be shuttled by bus from Union Station to the Monument grounds.

Cars and an estimated 2500 buses bringing marchers here will be parked in three areas near the Memorial. Demonstrators are asked to bring two food boxes—one for lunch and one for dinner. Food will be served by concessionaires in the demonstration area, however.

The Civil Service Commission said. A spokesman said the Council would "stress the peaceful aspect of the demonstration. Meanwhile, Washington area Methodist Bishop John Wesley Lord has announced he intends to take part in the planned civil rights demonstration, the Associated Press reported.

Bishop Lord has written to some 600 pastors in Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia saying he would take part in the march and inviting participation by "those who are free to do so," the Associated Press said.

Official Has Two Roles in Grant

By Jack Anderson

The Public Health Service has just awarded \$100,800 to the American Pharmaceutical Association to study how pharmacies can serve as community health centers.

The Association's executive director, William Apple, will also help the University of Pittsburgh spend another \$221,057 of the taxpayers' money to study drug costs and uses.

By a curious coincidence, the Public Health Service's pharmacy chief, Dr. George Archambault, happened to be doubling in brass as president of the American Pharmaceutical Association while both grants were being processed.

He acknowledged to this column that, as APhA president, he had set up the committee, which requested the \$100,800. Wearing his other hat, as PHS pharmacy chief, he had been consulted informally about the grant.

But he insisted that he had nothing to do with the final decision to award the money.

Dr. Archambault defended the decision, however, as "wonderful for the public." The money would be spent, he said, to make public health in-

formation available to people at their neighborhood pharmacies.

Wasting no time, APhA has already put its communications director, George Grifenhagen, on the taxpayers' payroll at \$12,000 a year to get the program started.

Critics have questioned whether APhA is interested in benefiting the public or the pharmacies. Turning pharmacies into public health centers, they point out, will also lure customers into the drug stores.

On an earlier occasion, APhA suppressed news of counterfeit drugs in order to protect the pharmacies from losing business. Director Apple brought pressure upon the Armstrong Cork Co. to cancel a TV show that exposed how counterfeit pills and powders were being peddled to the public.

Note — The Public Health Service has kept strangely silent about the APhA grant. A PHS spokesman claimed that the APhA application was a "privileged communication" though it dealt with public money. This column learned, however, that the grant was applied for in March, two months before Dr. Archambault retired as APhA president.

Pressure on Italians

The Justice Department has brought pressure upon a grudging Italian Embassy to help prepare a deportation

case against New Orleans racketeer Carlos Marcello.

The Italians aren't at all enthused about accepting the terror of the New Orleans underworld. He wasn't even born in Italy, but in Tunisia. It was his Italian parentage, the Justice Department avers, that makes him deportable now.

Earlier, the Immigration Service tried to get rid of him by hustling him off unceremoniously to Guatemala. But Marcello grew tired of the drowsy *dolce vita* in the banana republic and smuggled himself back into the United States. He has used every stratagem in the law books to stay here.

Now the Justice Department is going to try again to declare him an undesirable alien. In this effort, Attorney General Robert Kennedy has obtained the reluctant cooperation of the Italian Embassy, which sent to Italy for papers proving Marcello's parentage.

Italian authorities are privately irked over the American habit of casting the derelicts from the American underworld upon their shores. They learned their nefarious skills, the Italians argue, in the United States.

Capital Capsules

Nazis at the Bridge—George Lincoln Rockwell, the Self-styled American Fuehrer, has ordered his storm troopers to "block the bridges" on Aug.

28, to stop Negro demonstrators from marching on Washington. He has been barnstorming up and down Virginia trying to recruit volunteers to back his nazi stand against the Negroes. So far, he has enlisted fewer than 100 men who will be somewhat outnumbered by the 100,000 Negroes. If Rockwell and his nazis start trouble at the bridges, police have promised privately they will be hustled off to jail.

Trading Stamps Doomed?—Housewives may no longer be permitted to save trading stamps if Congress, as appears likely, passes the quality stabilization bill. This would let a manufacturer set retail prices on his products, which would knock out both discount stores and trading stamps. (Legally, the stamps are considered a price discount.)

French H-Bomb—French President Charles de Gaulle is going ahead with plans to test his first hydrogen bomb on a remote South Pacific island in the Tuamotu Archipelago. The French are expected to develop an H-Bomb before the end of the year, although the test site probably won't be ready until next spring. (What worries Washington is that a French explosion might give the Russians an excuse to tear up the test ban treaty and blame the West.)

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Anderson

Facilities Expanded And Police Alerted On Roads to Capital

By MARTIN ARNOLD

Special to The New York Times

WILMINGTON, Del., Aug. 27

Nearly every police department and gasoline station from New York to Washington wanted to know one thing today: How many buses would come south for the march on Washington?

Estimates ranged from a total of 600 to 800 from New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia and New England. Nobody would dare to speculate on the number of private cars transporting marchers.

At Cranbury, N. J., 53 miles south of New York, Howard Johnson's has its only charter bus stop on the New Jersey Turnpike. There are 14 refreshment stops for automobiles.

The stand for charter buses is usually open only on Friday, Saturday and Sunday. But the company has been preparing for the march for a week and will be open at 1 A.M. tomorrow.

Parking Area Enlarged

Its parking area can normally accommodate 85 buses. It has been expanded to handle nearly 300.

Benton E. Caldon, New Jersey manager for the refreshment stand chain, said: "We are ready for between 800 and 1,000 buses between 1 and 6 A.M. Wednesday."

Mr. Caldon has installed 302 more drinking fountains, 50 extra comfort units for women and 40 for men.

Personnel at the stand has been increased from 22 on each of three shifts to 200 divided between two shifts.

Refreshments on hand include 8,000 half-pint containers of soft drinks, 2,400 half-pints of milk, 2,400 ham sandwiches, 12,000 frankfurters and 5,400 chicken halves.

"It's a wild gamble and we won't expect it will pay off," Mr. Caldon said. "But never let it be said we didn't try to make this trip a pleasant one for all concerned."

The police action has been less dramatic. The Turnpike Authority has set up a special headquarters at the Howard Johnson bus stop, from which all traffic reports will be sifted and personnel dispatched to handle problems.

At the southern end of the turnpike, the Delaware Memorial Bridge police plan to have its force of 19 on duty or call to direct traffic onto Route 40.

The Delaware State Police will have 120 men on duty to speed traffic, while the Maryland State Police will have 150 to 200 men guiding the flow of cars on the Baltimore-Washington expressway.

A potential bottleneck is the Baltimore Harbor Tunnel. It has seven toll gates and six southbound entrances, but only two entrances lead in from Route 40, which is expected to be the main road.

Washington

The White Man's Burden and All That

By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, Aug. 27.—The reaction of the white or northwest section of Washington to this week's big Negro demonstration is mainly one of annoyance. For a whole day, inhabitants of this privileged sanctuary won't be able to buy a drink at a bar, or get a taxi downtown, or count on the colored cook coming in for dinner. Think of the white man's burden!

The white folks in the capital have always been annoyed by resident or visiting petitioners. Though the right to petition a government for redress of grievances was granted by King John to his barons in Magna Carta and guaranteed to all Americans in the First Amendment on Dec. 15, 1791, Congress has usually been irritated whenever large numbers of their fellow-citizens showed up to protest.

In 1838, the House of Representatives even adopted a gag rule to the effect "that no petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any state or territories of the United States in which it now exists, shall be received by this House or entertained in any way whatever."

Later, under the leadership of Congressman John Quincy Adams, this was repealed, but the leaders of Coxey's unemployment marchers were arrested anyway for walking on the grass, and this stubborn resentment against complaining demonstrators still exists.

Jobs and Freedom

The fact that annoyance is still the white resident's principal reaction to the march here indicates the extent of the gap between white and Negro thinking—this in a city that is 53 per cent Negro and whose public schools are almost 83 per cent Negro.

Despite all the hubbub of the last few days, the Congress has scarcely noted the full objective of the protest. The demonstration was not designed merely as political agitation for the passage of President Kennedy's civil rights legislation, but was chiefly aimed at the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom."

The jobs part of it may prove to be tougher in the end than the freedom, for the Negro leaders are not only asking for equal opportunity in the field of civil liberties but for preferential treatment on jobs.

Asa Philip Randolph, the 74-year-old director of the march, emphasized the point here this week. Getting jobs away from whites to give to Negroes, he said, was no solution to the problem. A vast increase in the economic growth of the nation was needed to wipe out unemployment for all, and only special training and treatment for Negroes would enable them to work effectively in an automated society.

This, of course, is precisely the problem Washington has not been able to lick, and there is even less likelihood that the Kennedy Administration will get its economic growth and full employment programs through the Congress than its civil rights program.

In July, there were 3,382,000 whites unemployed in this country and 639,000 Negroes. In other words, the Negro unemployed percentage was over double the white—11.2 per cent to 5.1, and in some cities, Chicago for example, the Negro unemployed were over 17 per cent.

Equality or Preference?

This problem is not getting better, but worse. The demand for skilled workers and the scrapping of unskilled workers are increasing faster than the training and education of the Negro. Meanwhile, the Negro population is increasing faster than the white—25.4 per cent Negro in the fifties to 17.5 per cent white.

Even within the Kennedy Administration there is no agreement that its economic proposals would meet the Negro's problems, even if they were all approved by the Congress, which they certainly won't be.

Already some of the President's advisers are insisting that only an ambitious public works program, on top of all the other tax, training and relief programs, will really deal with Negro unemployment in the cities. The President is not agreeing yet, not because he is convinced they are wrong, but merely because he has so many other problems that he cannot take on another at this time.

Accordingly, this week's march on Washington is not the end of the Negro drive for civil equality but also the beginning of a drive for economic preference and full employment. This may "annoy" Washington, but the American Negro has obviously decided that he has to annoy the white man to wake him up.

Car Pools Formed Here to Meet Shortage of Charter Transport

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

A shortage of chartered transportation has forced the national headquarters for the march on Washington to use car pools against the wishes of the Washington police.

Workers at the headquarters in Harlem reported yesterday that as a last resort, pools were being arranged for persons who would otherwise be stranded.

With the waiting list of demonstrators having grown on the eve of the march, a spokesman said, some individuals told headquarters they would go by car, and offered space for others.

The offers were being accepted, the spokesman said, on the ground that whether a car had four persons or one, it would still be in a long line of traffic.

The spokesman offered no estimate of the number of cars making the trip. But he said there were probably many privately organized groups not known to national headquarters.

The Washington police repeated their request yesterday that automobiles not be used because of inadequate parking space.

More than 600 buses, 17 trains, and at least one plane have been chartered, the spokesman said. Other demonstrators are expected to go by public transportation, he explained.

The Port Authority bus terminal in Manhattan said normal service was expected today as far as the number of buses in use.

Few of the 40,000 persons from the New York area due to

attend the rally were expected to leave from the Port Authority bus terminal. The chartered buses were departing from various pick-up points.

With the supply of chartered bus seats exhausted, at a round-trip price of about \$6, a march official said, railroad parlor seats are being bought at \$17.

Meanwhile, in Washington, Representative Leonard Farbstein said he had received complaints that some bus companies were overcharging groups of demonstrators. The Manhattan Democrat said he had reported the complaints to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Thomas L. McClelland, district director for the I. C. C., said an investigation had uncovered no illegalities.

Apparently, he added, some organizers were confused about different rates for charter service.

The national headquarters was coordinating agent for a score of metropolitan groups involved in the march. Each organization arranged its own transportation, food and medical supplies. Each person in the group paid his own way, except for the unemployed, whose fare was paid by contributions.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 27 (AP)—Here is the program for tomorrow's march on Washington.

9 to 10 A.M.—Leaders of the march hold meetings at the capitol with leaders of Congress.

10—Marchers assemble at grounds of Washington Monument with entertainers singing folk and freedom songs.

11:30—March to Lincoln Memorial begins.

12:30 P.M.—Entertainment begins at Memorial for the first arrivals.

2—Main ceremonies begin at Lincoln Memorial. Marian Anderson sings National Anthem. The Right Rev. Patrick O'Boyle, Roman Catholic archbishop of Washington, delivers invocation. A. Philip Randolph, the march director, gives opening remarks. Short talks by other march leaders: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, John Lewis, Walter P. Reuther, Whitney Young, Mathew Ahmann, Roy Wilkins, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Mrs. Medgar W. Evers will accept a tribute to the women in the

civil rights movement. Entertainment by the Eva Jease Choir and Mahalia Jackson. Prayers by Rabbi Uri Miller, president of the Synagogue Council of America, and benediction by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College, Atlanta.

4—The ceremonies end. Demonstrators disperse to trains and buses.

5—Leaders of the march meet with President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson at the White House.

Sponsors of the march are urging the demonstrators to bring peanut butter and jelly sandwiches with them.

The demonstrators have received a manual with detailed advice on food, health, and sanitation problems.

The manual urges the marchers to take two box lunches, one for midday, one for supper.

"We suggest: peanut butter and jelly sandwiches, an apple or other fruit, a brownie or plain cake, a soft drink," the manual says.

Demonstrators are advised against bringing any perishable or spoilable foods. "No mayonnaise or salads, for example," the manual says.

Hot dogs and soft drinks and other picnic foods will be sold in the demonstration area by Government Services, Inc., a private organization that has the franchise to sell food in areas supervised by the National Park Service.

The demonstrators have been asked not to bring any children under 14 years of age. However, the Washington police are assigning 10 Youth Aid Division cruisers to the demonstration area.

The police say that all lost children will be housed overnight in the offices of the Police Department's Women's Bureau.

The sponsors hope that demonstrators will arrive and depart on the same day, but, in case of difficulty, the Washington Urban League is making arrangements for some overnight housing.

The headquarters for the march reported today that a young Negro juking to the capitol was struck today by a white man in Maryland.

The youth, identified as John Cronich of Brooklyn, was hit on the knee but not injured seriously, headquarters said.

March headquarters said the attacker had a gun in his car when he intercepted a group of hikers on U. S. 1 near Waterloo Station, Md., about 20 miles from Washington. He got out of his car, fired at the hikers, and then fled. The headquarters said.

8/28

ALABAMIANS GAY ON BUS JOURNEY

260 Leave for Washington
March in Picnic Spirit

By FRED POWLEDGE
Special to The New York Times

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Aug. 27.—Six busloads of Alabama Negroes paused here tonight on their 753-mile trip to join the march on Washington tomorrow.

The 260 demonstrators, of all ages, carried picnic baskets, water jugs, Bibles and a major weapon — their willingness to march, sing and pray in protest against discrimination.

They gathered early this morning in Birmingham's Kelly Ingram Park, where state troopers once used fire hoses and dogs to put down their demonstrations.

As the temperature rose into the 80's, they boarded six old buses and started toward the capital.

The first leg of the trip was uneventful. The buses were expected to arrive in Washington in time for the civil rights assemblage at 10 A.M.

It was peaceful in the Birmingham park as the marchers waited for the buses. The police, now part of a moderate city power structure, directed traffic around the square and did not interfere with the gathering.

James E. Lay, a Negro aide for the march, spoke to the riders and well-wishers. He wore a pith helmet with captain's bars on it.

Kiss Parents Goodbye

"Please don't jay-walk," he told the crowd. "Cross on the intersections and go with the light."

There was an atmosphere of "hurry up and wait." Children kissed their parents good-by. An elderly woman spread a newspaper on the grass beneath a patch of shade and patiently awaited the arrival of the buses.

An old man commented on the 20-hour ride, which was bound to be less than comfortable:

"You forget we Negroes have been riding buses all our lives. We don't have the money to fly in airplanes."

Nobody seemed displeased that most leaders of the Birmingham delegation were skipping the bus ride in favor of airplanes.

When the buses came, group captains stood in the doorways and checked the names of the departing passengers. The Rev. Edward Gardner, an official of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and a march organizer, told each busload:

"Now everybody, we want you perfect conduct. If you go and get into something that isn't your business, then that's your affair. Is that plain?"

"It's plain, Reverend" came the reply.

"Then I wish you a happy trip."

First Chance for Many

For many the march was a chance to see Washington for the first time. Some had never been outside Alabama. Henry Haynes, 81-year-old Birmingham, said he was as excited about seeing the White House as about marching and singing. "We shall overcome."

"I know I won't be there very long," he said, "but I sure do want to see as much of it as I can while I'm there."

Told that it was expected to be very hot in Washington and that he should look after himself, he replied:

"Look after myself! I worked hard all my life, and no heat or tiredness are going to get me down now. I'd just as soon be up there in the heat as down here in it."

Willie Leonard, 20, an up-hoisterer who works for a fellow Negro, said: "I guess you could call me a combination freedom rider and tourist on this trip."

A middle-aged woman said she had obtained time off as a white woman's maid to make the trip. "One said have a good time," the woman said of her employer.

There was excited chatter as the buses pulled out at noon. The Rev. Charles Billups, captain of the lead bus, said he was certain the trip through the South would be safe.

"We've found out that we haven't a weapon," he said. "The only weapon we have is protest. That's what's going to be a waste of time. I think this march will be remembered indefinitely."

The driver of the lead bus was white. He paid strict attention to his duties. On the road to Knoxville, he was stopped by a highway patrolman for speeding 75 miles an hour. But the officer let him off.

13 Train Cars Used

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Aug. 27. (UP)—Jacksonville was the staging point today for the "Freedom Special," a train that is transporting the largest contingent to the Washington demonstration.

The train was made up of 13 cars, and was to add three as it traveled north through Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia.

Each car accommodates 60 persons.

In addition to those leaving by bus and train, Negro spokesmen said, hundreds were departing by car.

ROCKEFELLER MARCHES

He Also Frolics Today as
Justice and Equality Day

Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, Aug. 27.—Governor Rockefeller expressed the hope today that the March on Washington would focus the national conscience on the "urgent obligation" to provide equal opportunities for all citizens.

In a telegram to A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council and a co-chairman of the demonstration, Mr. Rockefeller extended his "best wishes to you, to the other distinguished leaders of the march and to the many thousands of Americans of all races, religions and ethnic groups who will participate in what promises to be a truly historic undertaking."

Mr. Rockefeller said that he had designated Alexander Al-drich, chairman of his special cabinet for civil rights, and George H. Towler, chairman of the State Commission for Human Rights, to represent him in the March.

'Justice and Equality Day'

The Governor also issued a proclamation designating tomorrow "Justice and Equality Day."

Referring to the March, he said, "It is altogether fitting and proper that these manifestations of public concern for, and awareness of, the unfulfilled promises of democracy should take place in our nation's capital, in the long shadows of the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial."

Mr. Rockefeller referred to several legislative enactments he had recommended to strengthen civil rights that he said had "woven into the structure of government instrumentalities designed to enforce equal opportunity."

"The State of New York shall continue to utilize all of its moral, legal and persuasive powers to attain the humane and human goals which are the inherent rights of each of our citizens," the Governor said.

Wagner Flying Today

Mayor Wagner and the other seven members of the Board of Estimate will leave La Guardia Field at 10 A.M. today for Washington aboard an Eastern Airlines plane. They are scheduled to arrive at 11:05 A.M. to participate in the civil rights March on Washington.

They will attend the ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument at 11:30 A.M. and return during the evening.

March Day Quiet One For Police

By Alfred E. Lewis
Staff Reporter

The local police department's "Longest Day" marched off into history last night in gentlemanly fashion — over a welcome mat which hadn't been frayed around the edges.

Police Chief Robert V. Murray said conservative estimates from all law enforcement sources indicated that some 200,000 civil rights demonstrators — imported and

Orderliness of the massive civil rights demonstration yesterday prompted a congratulatory statement by District Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner.

He praised the "marchers, the organizations in back of the marchers, our police, firemen, National Guard and police reserves in having successfully demonstrated to America and to the world that the right of protest can be peaceful . . .

home-grown—were present at the peak of the doings. He called it the largest crowd ever gathered in Washington as participants in a single event.

By nightfall, police counted only four arrests which could be directly associated with the big business at hand. A member of George Lincoln Rockwell's Arlington-based American Nazi Party was charged with speaking without a permit. Twenty-year-old Edward Shell, of 4661 S. 36th st., Arlington, elected to forfeit \$10 on a disorderly conduct charge. Police said he smashed a sign carried by one of the demonstrators at 20th st. and Constitution ave. nw.

A Prince Georges County juvenile was arrested in connection with the stoning of a busload of demonstrators as it passed through Bladensburg, and another Arlingtonian Robert Dugan, 21, of 1021 N. Jefferson st., was charged with carrying a prohibited weapon by police who said they found a loaded 20-gauge shotgun on the car seat beside him while he was driving to work as a computer for the Group Health Insurance Plan.

By 9 p.m. Deputy Police Chief Howard Covell ordered all special details relieved and announced that the department was once more back on its normal footing. All reservists and other police aides deputized for the occasion were de-deputized by order of Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner as of 11:30 p.m.

"It was like a church picnic," Chief Murray said his aides reported.

Augmenting every available member of the regular police forces here were 355 firemen and considerable detachments of police reserves, National Guardsmen, and Civil Defense workers. Four thousand regular Army troops did standby duty in Anacostia and at Ft. Myer.

Integrating the entire police operation was the most intricate radio network ever operational here. Chief Murray and his deputies cruised the demonstration area constantly in cars with two-way telephone links to a central communications set-up at police headquarters.

Murray said only one major traffic tie-up occurred. Shortly before noon, a group of buses inbound from the South I-495 timed their late arrivals with the start of the crowd's march to Lincoln Memorial. It immobilized movement on the northbound 14th st. Bridge for about 10 minutes. In the 12-hour period ending at 5 p.m. only 17 minor accidents were reported.

Tobriner Lauds Police Reservists

District Commissioner Walter Tobriner praised members of the Police Reserve Corps last night and said they "will be very important to the safety and protection of the people of Washington" during the civil rights march on Aug. 28.

Tobriner was one of several hundred persons paying tribute to the men of the Fourteenth Precinct reserves at the precinct station. The meeting was sponsored by the Democratic Party Precinct SE-78.

At the meeting Democratic Precinct Chairman Willie J. Hardy presented a plaque for the group to Lt. Roland S. Fletcher, executive officer of the Corps.

The Fourteenth's Corps, consisting of 106 volunteers, was cited by Police Insp. George Causey as a major reason the precinct has one of the lowest crime rates in the city.

Tobriner praised the "wonderful assistance you have been to the regular police," and noted that the men received no pay for their work.

Other persons attending the meeting were Commissioner John B. Duncan, Deputy Chief of Police George R. Wallrod, and representatives of the Democratic Party and local civic associations.

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Special Communication Net Slated for August 28 March

By CLARENCE HUNTER
Star Staff Writer

The District Commissioners will be "available every minute of the day" on August 28, the date of the March on Washington, Commissioner John B. Duncan said yesterday.

There will be a special communications center in the District Building, probably in Commissioner Walter Tobriner's office, so that the Commissioners can remain in constant contact with the civil rights demonstration, Mr. Duncan said.

"We plan to maintain direct telephone or radio contact with leaders of the demonstration as well as District department heads," Mr. Duncan said. "The three Commissioners will remain together that day so we can make immediate decisions as they are needed."

"We soon will have a good plan for that day. We are doing everything in our power to help make this a peaceful and successful march."

The heads of various District departments have been instructed to notify the Commissioners of their needs for

that day and how they expect their units will be involved in the march, Mr. Duncan added.

"Once we have this information, we will draw up orders giving each department authorization to render the services and assistance required of it," he said.

The Commissioners met Friday with some department heads to discuss District plans for handling the marchers, expected to number as many as 150,000. This was just one of several routine meetings of officials to keep abreast of demonstration developments.

Doctors Ready

Dr. Murray Grant, District health director, said the District plans to maintain 16 first aid stations which will be staffed by physicians and nurses and serviced by two ambulances each.

The stations, housed in Army tents and some Federal buildings, will be located at strategic points in the demonstration area — between the Lincoln Memorial and Washington Monument grounds — and at the railroad and bus

terminals. The physicians staffing the first aid stations will be provided by the health department, Red Cross and District Medical Society.

The "necessary emergency care" will be available at District General Hospital and other hospitals, Dr. Grant said.

There will be 120 portable chemical toilets located in the demonstration area, Dr. Grant added. Drinking water will be supplied throughout the area by "bottler hooks" attached to fire hydrants and six mobile flushers (tank cars) which can be dispatched wherever they are needed.

District officials said tentative plans call for buses to be parked along Constitution avenue while private cars driven here for the march will have to be left in the fringe parking lots around the city.

The necessary streets in the vicinity of the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial may be closed to traffic at times during the day, officials indicated. There is no definite plan now to close Memorial Bridge to traffic.

The Commissioners have advised District department heads to "follow a liberal policy in the granting of annual leave" for those who wish time off to join the march as long as their services can be spared without detriment to essential public services.

Endorsements Continue

As District officials planned for the maintenance of the demonstrators, organizations throughout the country continued to endorse the march and encourage their members to participate.

The Committee on Race Relations of the Maryland Council of Churches has urged the clergy and their parishioners to take part in the demonstration, the Associated Press reported. The committee asked church members to send bus loads of persons here and instructed them to assemble at the Washington Monument.

In Miami, Fla., Dr. James O. Brown, vice chairman of the Miami chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, said a special train will depart from that city August 27 with stops along the way to pick up demonstrators.

The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials has announced its support of the march and urged its members to participate in addition to offering their professional aid "in whatever manner may be appropriate."

The Jewish War Veterans of the U. S. A. adopted a resolution at their annual convention in Washington yesterday supporting the August 28 demonstration.

The veterans organization authorized all local and state chapters to take part, in a resolution that followed an address by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He commended the J.W.V. for efforts to promote equality in the United States.

The convention also heard Executive Director Joseph P. Barr, of the J.W.V., warn of

Organizer of D. C. March Is Devoted to Non-Violence

***Friendliness, Not a Gun, Is the Proper Weapon,
Veteran of Past Protests Here Believes***

By Susanna McBee
Staff Reporter

NEW YORK, Aug. 10—The man who is organizing what may be the largest civil rights demonstration in the Nation's history is a crusader who passionately believes society can solve its problems only through non-violence.

He is 53-year-old Bayard Rustin, the tall, graying deputy director of the committee planning the Aug. 28 march in Washington for "jobs and freedom," which is expected to attract more than 100,000 demonstrators.

The committee's director, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has given Rustin his "absolute confidence" in the day-to-day planning of the mass assembly.

Organized Pilgrimage

One of the committee members, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., called Rustin, "a brilliant, efficient and dedicated organizer and one of the best and most

persuasive interpreters of with the philosophy of non-violence."

Rustin organized the 1957 "prayer pilgrimage" and the 1958 and 1959 youth marches in Washington for integrated schools. He said in an interview today that the essence of non-violence is willingness to suffer in order to "dominate the forces destructive to the oneness of man."

Because of this "oneness of man," the problems of one group—the Negroes—are the problems of all people," Rustin said.

"White people have a right to the same jobs left by the Negroes," he said. "The Negroes are the ones who are doing the work that is keeping the economy going over the few jobs left by the Negroes. That's why our automation. That's why our demonstration will support measures for full employment and for an expanding economy."

No white man will have complete freedom until the Negro has his. For example, when all Southern Negroes have the right to vote, they will help out the legislators who deny social welfare programs not only to them but to whites also."

Rustin said Negroes would make a mistake to be concerned only with Negro rights, because "this type of selfishness is incompatible



BAYARD RUSTIN

Rustin's career reflects his energetic pursuit of ideas and causes connected with peace and social reform.

Began In High School

He began his long protest against racial discrimination when as a high school football player in his home town of Westchester, Pa., he was refused service with his team.

mates in a restaurant. He continued to sit there for several hours until he was thrown out.

Rustin has no college degree but spent seven years studying at Wilberforce (Ohio) and Cheyney (Pa.) Colleges, the College of the City of New York, and the London School of Economics. While at CCNY, in 1936,

he joined the Young Communist League because "it was the only campus organization that had anything to say about the rare issue." But his Quaker non-violence "kept banging into their views," he said, and he soon dropped out of the league.

Criticized Party

He says he "broke completely" when the league accepted racial segregation in the Armed Forces after Hitler attacked Russia. In 1956, the Communist Party, which he never joined, invited him and such other non-Communist social critics as Norman Thomas and Dorothy Day to attend its convention in New York as observers.

Rustin and several others filed a report criticizing the Party for what he called its "dishonest and undemocratic handling of the Hungary question."

In the early 1940s Rustin was CORE's field secretary and was race relations director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist group.

He has been arrested more than 20 times for his civil rights activities. During World War II he served 28 months for being a conscientious objector. Several of his arrests were for making speeches advocating resistance to war and for anti-lynching activities in New York. He also was convicted in 1953 in Pasadena, Calif., of a morals charge after being arrested with two other men.

In 1947 he helped organize a type of freedom ride to test compliance with the 1946 Supreme Court ban on segregation in interstate travel. Rustin was arrested 18 times on the journey through the South for breaking segregation laws.

Bayard Rustin, a Longtime Pacifist, Says Negroes Must Be Willing to Suffer to Win Rights

Supports Pacifism
In 1952 he became the secretary of the

he has worked ever since the Resisters' League, for 1947 studying the Gandhian independence movement, also took part in several national movements in Birmingham.

From 1955 to 1960 he part-time aide to Dr. King and helped in the Montgomery bus boycott which ended Jim Crow practices on Montgomery, Ala., buses.

His political philosophy defies labelling. Basic concepts of a society organized that "there will be no misery of any kind."

His idealism and long experience led Rustin to appoint him deputy director of the Aug. 28 march.

Asked once when he wanted Rustin to resign, Randolph said, "Why not? He's Mr. Martin Luther King's self."

Law Enforcement Agents Readied

WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 14,
1963

8000 Will Keep Peace at the March

By **DICKSON PRESTON**
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Anyone who is thinking of coming to Washington to stir up trouble during the Aug. 28 civil rights march would be well advised to forget it.

That goes for communists, American Nazis, anti-Negro thugs, teen-aged rowdies and riot instigators of any other sort.

At least 8000 law enforcement agents will be on hand to keep the peace that day. Most will be tough, well-trained professionals. Thousands of others, including powerful units of the U. S. armed forces, will be standing by.

Leaders of the march and heads of policing agencies all say they expect little or no difficulty from the 100,000 or more Negro and White integration advocates who will demonstrate at the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial.

CHIEF CONCERN

What they are chiefly concerned about is the possibility outsiders may spark a riot by heckling, rock throwing or name calling. But they will be well prepared.

Here is a rundown of peace officers who will be in and around the area:

Metropolitan Police—1900 in uniform and 300 plain clothesmen. All leaves have been canceled. Another 500 police reserves have been called for duty manning precinct stations and riding in squad cars, Chief Robert Murray says.

National Park Police—"All available personnel" from the 241-man force, according to Chief Nelson Murdock. Many will help direct traffic on the Baltimore-Washington Parkway and other Federally policed nearby highways.

District of Columbia Cantine Corps—75 man-dog teams trained in crowd control. They won't be on scene but will be standing by, subject to quick call.

Police From Nearby Areas—More than 1000 will cooperate in handling traffic, keeping peace in Maryland and Virginia suburbs. Included are Virginia and Maryland state police, as well as those from suburban cities and counties.

National Guard—2000 members of D. C. Guard. Of these, 750 are military police trained in crowd control, the rest chiefly engineers and hospital personnel.

Parade Marshals—Another 2000, many of them off-duty Negro policemen and firemen from New York City, New Haven, Bridgeport and other

eastern cities. Chief Marshal is William H. Johnson Jr., a New York police officer on leave.

Federal Bureau of Investigation—Scores of FBI agents will be mingling in crowds as observers and trouble spotters. They'll watch for known communists and other agitators such as American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell.

Armed Forces in Washing-

ton—More than 800 military police. These won't be on general police duty but will watch for anyone in uniform who gets out of line.

Armed Forces Nearby—Thousands of Army and Marine troops within 30 miles, equipped to move by helicopter and truck on a moment's notice. These include forces at Ft. Myer, Ft. Belvoir, Va., Ft. Meade, Md., and Quantico Marine Base, Va.

THE EVENING STAR
Washington, D. C., Friday, August 16, 1963

BULLETIN

Ball Games Are Off On August 27, 28

The Washington Senators, at police request, have postponed the night games scheduled here August 27 and August 28—the eve of the civil rights march on Washington and the night after. The contests, against the Minnesota Twins, will be played as an afternoon doubleheader Thursday, August 29.

80,000 Lunches Made Here by Volunteers for Washington Marchers



The preparation of lunches in progress yesterday. Nuns and other volunteers worked in hall of Riverside Church. The New York Times by John O'Sullivan

By ANNA PETERSEN

Thanks to a band of hard-working, enthusiastic "sandwich volunteers" in New York, 80,000 hungry civil rights marchers will be able to buy a lunch for 50 cents in Washington today. Each

brown paper bag holds a cheese sandwich, an apple, marshmallows and an apple. The lunches were assembled in the hall of Riverside Church in an operation that began at 8:30 A. M. yesterday with 350 men and women

working in three-hour stints. Fifty were recruited through the State employment offices; the rest were volunteers.

By 1 P. M., the last of a fleet of refrigerated trucks was loaded and on its way. The lunches will be sold at

cost at six distribution points in and around the site of the march.

The work stopped only briefly at noon for a blessing by Dr. Robert W. Spike, di-

Continued on Page 21, Column 1

VOLUNTEERS MAKE LUNCH FOR 80,000

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

rector of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches.

"As an act of love," he said, "we now dedicate these lunches for the nourishment of thousands who will be coming long distances, at great sacrifice to say with their bodies and souls that we shall overcome."

A chorus of workers from the council's offices then sang the civil rights song, "We Shall Overcome."

Within the hall, volunteers of many faiths worked steadily, standing at long tables, as in an assembly line. They fitted cheese squares to bread slices, placed the sandwiches in transparent wrapping, then filled the bags and stapled them.

Miss Dolores Coards, a school teacher, said she had volunteered when she decided she was one of those "who hadn't done anything for racial equality."

Mrs. Constance Allaway left her sister in charge of a barber shop they run on St. Nicholas Avenue so that she could help.

Mabel Brin, an assistant at the Jewish Theological Seminary, took a day out of her vacation to work.

Linda Deutz, 15 years old, and her friend, Susie Gilwood, came up from Princeton in a car pool to lend a hand.

Mrs. Isabella Moore, who had volunteered at the urging of her pastor at Friendship Baptist Church, left after completing her stint to work as an office cleaner. Two of the youngest

in line were John Krick, 12, and his cousin, Mike Chinoy, 11, who wore long white aprons over their shorts.

Machinists Helps Load

As cartons moved down the conveyor belt, Roy Soden, a machinist on vacation, was among those loading them into a truck. Others were Edwin Bernard, a factory worker, and Ross Calame, an associate minister from Lansing, Ill., here on a holiday.

A group of 225 Episcopalians from the New York Diocese, announced it would join the march, leaving in six buses from Synod Hall, 110th Street and Amsterdam Avenue.

The Medical Committee for Civil Rights estimated that 500 physicians, dentists, nurses and health workers from all sections of the country would also participate.

6,000 Police Are Assigned to March Today—Liquor Sales Is Banned in District

By R. H. [unclear]
[unclear] 27

Tens of thousands of Americans
were heading today for this
city for a demonstration.

Tomorrow's march on Wash-
ington is drawing Negroes and
whites from all over the country
on trains, cars, buses, planes
and on foot.

No one can say how many
there will be. The city is ready
for between 100,000 and 150,000
demonstrators.

The Weather Bureau forecast
fair and not too humid weather
for the march, with a high of
84 degrees.

The capital awaited the
marchers with some uneasiness,
although the preparations were
elaborate and impressive. The
10 leaders of the march have
called upon all to maintain dig-
nity and order. The police have
said that they expect no trouble.

About 6,000 police and allied
groups have been assigned to
the civil rights demonstration.
In addition, 4,000 troops re-
leased by the Defense Depart-
ment will be on alert nearby.

Big Logistical Problem
There was a sharp contrast
between two command posts
today—that of the police and
that of the national march com-
mittee.

The police are preparing for
one of the biggest logistical
problems in their experience at
police headquarters. The sound-
proof communications rooms,
the nerve center for those as-
signed to keep order among the
marchers, are jammed with tel-
ephones, radio receivers, flash-
ing buttons and maps of the
region.

A mile away to the west,
near the Washington Monu-
ment, is the headquarters of
the national march committee.
It is a huge green-and-white
striped tent, and pitched on the
grassy of the mall.

Inside were signs that said:
"We March for Integrated
Schools Now," "We Demand an
End to Bias Now," "We March
for Jobs for All Now."

The signs will be carried by
the marchers.
In a briefing this afternoon,
Deputy Police Chief Howard V.
Covell, said:

"We expect 150,000 persons.
We are prepared to handle this
number—peacefully. But I can
tell you this—we could not han-
dle this number if it were not
peaceful."

Liquor Sales Banned
In another development, the
three-man board of District
of Columbia Commissioners
banned the sale of all alcoholic
beverages, including beer and
wines, from midnight tonight
until Thursday morning.

The ban covers bars, restau-
rants and package liquor stores.
The executive secretary for the
board, Geoffrey Thorne-
hill, called the action "unpre-
cedented."

Meanwhile, almost everyone
in Washington prepared to walk
tomorrow.

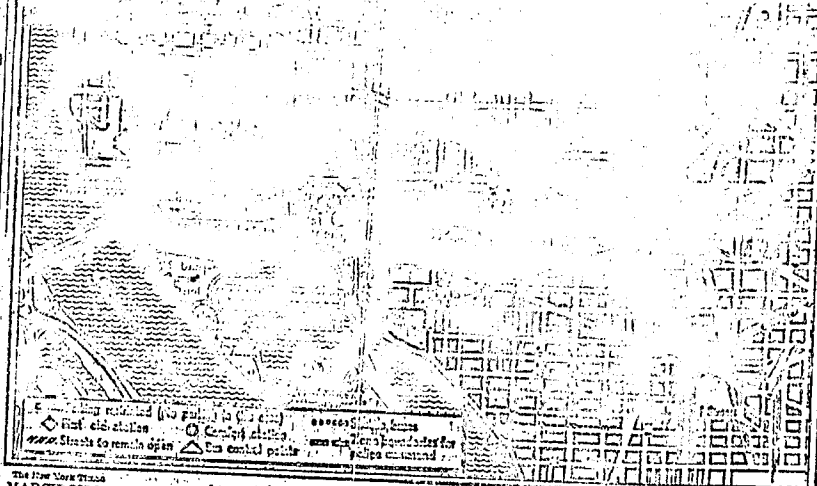
In most of the downtown area,
all street parking has been for-
bidden.
Warning signs went up today
on street corners near the demon-
stration area, which lies on
Washington Mall between the
monument and the Lincoln Me-
morial. The signs read: "Emer-
gency No Parking After 12:01
Wednesday, Aug. 26, 1963."

The first of the many hun-
dreds of chartered buses is ex-
pected to arrive shortly after
midnight. The vast majority of the
chartered trains is due into
Union Station at 6 a.m.

By today all but one of the
10 march leaders had arrived.
Rev. James Farmer of the Con-
gressional Christian Leadership
Conference arrived last week in
Piquette, Mich., in a civil rights
demonstration.

The others are Mathew
[unclear]

(Continued on Page 21, Column 2)



MARCH ON WASHINGTON: Map shows routes marchers will take from Washington Monument to Lincoln Memorial

Capital Ready for March Today; 100,000 Expected to Jam Mall

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

Ahmann of the National Catho-
lic Conference for Interracial
Justice; the Rev. Eugene Carson
Blake of the Commission on
Race Relations of the Na-
tional Council of Churches; the
Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.,
of the Southern Christian Lead-
ership Conference; John Lewis
of the Student Nonviolent Co-
ordinating Committee; Rabbi
Joachim Prinz of the American
Jewish Congress.

Also A. Philip Randolph,
president of the Negro Ameri-
can Labor Council; Walter P.
Reuther of the United Auto-
mobile Workers Union; Roy
Wilkins of the National Asso-
ciation for the Advancement of
Colored People, and William
Young of the National Urban
League.

Mr. Covell and Police Chief
Robert V. Murray have assigned
100 policemen to watch George
Lincoln Rockwell and his col-
leagues in the American Nazi
party "to prevent entangle-
ments."

Rockwell and all other groups
have been refused permits to
demonstrate or make speeches.
But the American Nazi, whose
group is anti-Negro and anti-
Jewish, has announced that he
will show up at dawn with
hundreds of followers on the
Washington Monument grounds.

City officials also announced
that they morning moving 250
persons out of the district jail
to make room for any trouble-
makers who might be arrested
during the march.

200,000 March for Civil Rights

Rail Strike Averted by Arbitration Law

Discipline,
Order Mark
Bias Protest

BY STEVEN GERTSLI
WASHINGTON, Apr. 29

A highly emotional but orderly throng of more than 200,000 demonstrators demanding "jobs and freedom" for Negroes staged America's biggest civil rights rally Wednesday beneath the brooding figure of Abraham Lincoln.

The Negroes and white demonstrators converged on the capital from across the country. From the Lincoln Memorial, they opened the hour-long rally with a five-minute prayer and concluded it in an impassioned mood of almost religious fervor.

ACTIONS PLEDGED
At the end of a long and weary day and with much praise from President Kennedy, they streamed out of the capital by bus, train, plane and auto in the same disciplined manner that prevailed throughout the march on Washington.

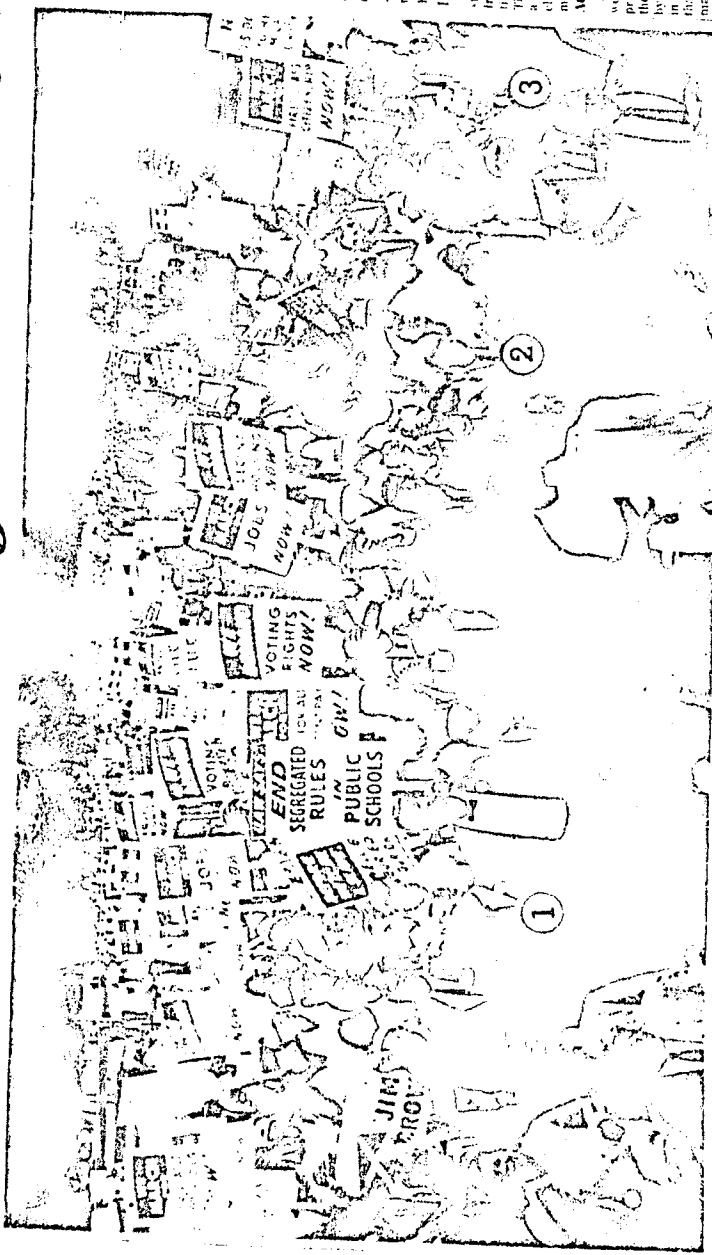
The President, after receiving for 15 minutes with the 10 leaders of the demonstration, issued a special statement pledging the administration to push for new civil rights laws, to speed up efforts for more jobs, and to eliminate discrimination in employment practices.

DEMANDS LAID DOWN
Those were among the 10 civil rights demands laid down by the leaders of the demonstration before the throng first massed on the Lincoln Memorial grounds after they had marched from their gathering point at the Washington Monument.

The theme was action "now." After speaker declared that the Negroes had waited too long for equal rights, he eventually came the most powerful speech of all by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"The time is now," he shouted in the roar of the crowd. "The time is now."

REVIVAL MOOD
Just before he spoke the mass of humanity that stretched nearly a mile along Washington's historic Mall had been put in a revival mood with singing. Shanties and songs of the Negroes' struggle for freedom were sung.



In the vanguard of the March on Washington on capital's Constitution Ave. are the Rev. Martin Luther King (1), Southern Integration leader; Roy Wilkins (2), executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Walter Ruther (3), of United Auto Workers.

country and President Kennedy has said they are not "strategic" even though he took action against a few who are not "strategic" but Communists.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was believed to have been in the room when the subject of the report was discussed. He is believed to have been in the room when the subject of the report was discussed. He is believed to have been in the room when the subject of the report was discussed.

Fifty-four of the group are now in Madrid, Spain, England, planning to fly to New York on Thursday. Three others remained in Cuba one day before returning to London and another, 20-year-old Warren Hill, died in Cuba, reportedly of a seizure while swimming.

A Justice Department spokesman said further investigation will be necessary after the students return before deciding on the next legal step.

Governments Cost \$148 Billion

Federal, state and local governments spent \$148 billion last year—nearly \$800 for every man, woman and child in the Nation, the Census Bureau reported. The bureau said \$23 billion went for defense and international relations. All levels of government collected \$122.5 billion in taxes during the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1962. Other revenue sources pushed up the total revenue to \$148 billion.

Kennedy Signs Debt Limit Bill

President Kennedy signed a bill to raise the present \$40 billion debt limit of the United States to \$50 billion and to authorize the President to issue bonds to meet the need for additional borrowing.

The bill extends the present limit through Nov. 30. It is generally accepted that borrowing authority will have to be raised after that date, especially if Congress cuts taxes.

\$5 Billion Space Program Passes

A bill to authorize a \$5 billion space program for the current fiscal year was passed by Congress and sent to President Kennedy.

The House acted last July 28 on the bill, and the Senate then passed a companion bill. The bill authorizes the President to use the money for space research and development.

Aid to Handicapped Urged

President Kennedy issued a proclamation designating the week beginning the 16th of National Education Day as National Handicapped Week. The week begins on Oct. 12, National School Lunch Week, and ends on Oct. 18, Child Welfare Week.

Mr. Kennedy's radio, on Federal, state and local public officials as well as leaders of industry and labor to renew efforts toward creating opportunity for the handicapped.

Film Group Eyes Kennedy Aide

Lawrence J. O'Brien, President Kennedy's Congressional relations chief, has been approached as a possible successor to the late Eric Johnston as President of the Motion Picture Association of America.

Some officials of the MPAA have suggested internally that O'Brien, 46, paid of the President's legislative program, be given strong consideration for the post made vacant by the death of Mr. Johnston last Thursday.

Holdup Ch

From Our Staff

DETECTIVES tracking down a very gang searched for in after a suburban barnyard robbery of \$126 if she would take London railway station.

Police were said to believe of the record \$2.2 million in the Glasgow-to-London road 1 Aug. 8.

The barnyard, Tom Weston, the two men after closing their two fire trucks where they had been hiding with their weapons.

ing, 62 miles north of London robbery scene.

Miss Weston said one of the case "remained full of notes."

"He told me, 'There is there,'" she said.

"Then he grabbed a handful 400 pounds (\$128) for you if you erped Station. Did you have it?"

Miss Weston told police: I played Howard Barker, came back, closed the door in a

clear, first-hand report with facts.

Chairman J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.) said he "hoped" the group will approve the treaty Thursday morning and recommend ratification by the Senate the day after.

There would be a vote then.

MORSE SAID FULBRIGHT

Rusk met with the committee behind closed doors. Sen. Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), who had previously expressed some reservations about the pact, said that "I felt" Sen. Fulbright's vote he is not "completely satisfied."

has no plans to visit the United States, he said.

Morse's chief concern was that there might be a "back door" to the United States, he said.

information of materials to France.

Morse said after Rusk's announcement that he "thought" the pact, "I shall not be the first to read the U.N. Treaty."

NOT EFFECTIVE IN WAR

Fulbright said Rusk also on the point raised by former President Dwight D. Eisenhower that the United States should reserve the right to use atomic weapons.

in a wartime situation, he said.

Rusk, quoted in the New York Times, said he "thought" the pact, "I shall not be the first to read the U.N. Treaty."

same effect.

Sen. George D. Allen (R., Iowa) and Frank J. Lausche (D., Ohio) had proposed amendments to the treaty.

APPROVAL PREDICTED

Hickel said he "thought" the pact, "I shall not be the first to read the U.N. Treaty."

would ask for a formal commitment.

Administration supply it with the same ideas.

all correspondence between Moscow and Washington.

up to the signing of the treaty.

underground.

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ratification with a "wide margin" of support.

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the kidnapping by Syrians of about the origin of the

Plans No Visit To U. S. in 1963, Nikita Reveals

By HENRY SHAPIRO

BRADY, Virginia, Aug. 8 (UPI)—Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev said Wednesday he has no plans to visit the United States this year but will go to the United States in 1963.

that there might be a "back door" to the United States, he said.

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South Vietnam President Ngo Dinh Diem receives three Buddhist monks at the Gia Long palace in Saigon. Two of the monks are fingering prayer beads.

Diem Regime Terror Rules in Haiti Raps U. S. for On Duvalier's Pledge 'Unjust Doubts' To Gun Down Rebels

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE

Continued from First Page

The State Department had accused the Diem regime of being a "terrorist" regime.

Diem's regime was accused of being a "terrorist" regime.

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President Vows To Press Fight For Rights Bill

From Our Wire Services

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28. — President Kennedy said Wednesday night the Nation can "properly be proud of the massive civil rights demonstration which advanced 'the cause of 20 million Negroes' and also all mankind."

In a statement issued soon after a 75-minute meeting with the leaders of the historic march from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial, Mr. Kennedy pledged:

"The Executive Branch of the Federal Government will continue its efforts to obtain increased employment and to eliminate discrimination in employment practices—two of the prime goals of the march."

TO KEEP UP PRESSURE

Similarly, the President said, Administration pressure will be kept on to promote passage of his civil rights program.

Mr. Kennedy said that although the summer of 1963 had seen "remarkable progress in translating civil rights from principles into practice," there still is a long way to travel on the road in question.

And, he saluted the spirit of Wednesday's march—"the deep fervor and the quiet dignity that characterized the thousands" who came to Washington "to demonstrate their faith and confidence in our democratic form of Government."

ORDERLY MANNER

He praised leaders of the march and all who participated in it "for the detailed preparations that made it possible and for the orderly manner in which it has been conducted."

"History has been many demonstrations—of widely varying character and for a whole

Continued on Page 4, Column 3

Kennedy Vows Fight For Rights Program In Talk to Marchers

Continued from First Page

host of reasons," the President asserted. "As our thoughts travel to other demonstrations that have occurred in different parts of the world, this Nation can properly be proud of the demonstration that has occurred here today."

"One cannot help but be impressed with the deep fervor and the quiet dignity that characterizes the thousands who have gathered in the Nation's Capital from across the country to demonstrate their faith and confidence in our democratic form of Government," the President declared.

EXERCISE RIGHT

Mr. Kennedy said that tens of thousands of Americans, Negro and white, had exercised their right Wednesday to "direct the widest possible attention to a great national issue."

"Efforts to secure equal treatment and equal opportunity for all without regard to race, color, creed or nationality are neither

novel or difficult to understand. What is different today is the intensified and widespread public awareness of the need to move forward in achieving these objectives—which are older than this Nation."

Those attending the meeting included Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz and the head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Section, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall.

JOCULAR START

The get-together got off to a jocular start, and the march leaders were obviously in a happy mood.

Mr. Kennedy told them that he had seen and heard some of the speeches on television earlier in the day. Laughing, he looked at United Auto Workers' Union President, Walter Reuther, one of the leaders and a speaker with a reputation for articulateness, and said:

"I didn't hear Walter—but I have heard Walter."

PHILA. INQUIRER 8/29

making stuff at the Literary Digest, wrote the speech-making book place. Theodore M. Wells, leader of

an outraged group from Baltimore, N. J., called the entire demonstration "senseless." "I didn't see a cross book on anyone's rack," he said. "I didn't hear a profane word."

There was no violence. There were no incidents. The Red Cross reported it gave medical aid to perhaps 1500 people, much of them victims of last summer's creek.

Terrence, these "promiscuous" and "unintelligent" Americans. The Constitution of the United States promises of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

"NAZI" REMOVED
Four arrests were reported, none involving the "NAZI" sign. The crowd, the temperature was in the 80s, and the skies were blue.

...the grounds for police after attempting to speak against the rally without a permit. But he declared: "I am not a Communist. I am not a Jew. I am not a Negro. I am not a ..."

Elwarsen Sneli, 20, Arlington, Va., was fined \$10 for grabbing and breaking one demonstrator's sign. A juvenile was arrested in suburban Hyattsville, Md., on charges of throwing a stone at a bus carrying demonstrators. "The government has no right to curtail the security of justice,"

This also was the key slogan: "We're tired of grievances, we're tired of helplessness, we're tired of a crisis." The symbolic "march of freedom and freedom" attracted

These isolated incidents were completely overshadowed by the sheer size and enthusiasm of the march from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial, and the emotional, only eight-tenths of

'LIKE A PICNIC'
Along the way some freedom songs but most in silence. "Like a church picnic,"

So disciplined was the crowd on sandwiches while demonstrations walked by. There was order once the crowd massed. If one of the number fell

the memorial,
NO ASSURANCES
Dr. King said they h
"very frank" session
Senate Democratic leader
Mansfield (Mont.) Other

ment that on the train ride Sen. Gale, a GOP leader, was "plenty of liquor." From none did the "any assurance that active civil rights legislation would be expedited." He ex-

... message From Jail

ment, jailed in place of another convict, Negro, who was sent word to the rally in a jail in Louisiana. James Farmer, director of Congress on Racial Research, said his speech had to be postponed because of the "government on?" Lewis said in miffy cheers. "We can depend on any political party but the Democratic one."

One of the nation's top religious leaders, the Rev. Dr. Gene Carson Babb, of Philadelphia, executive head of the United Methodist Church, is the "messenger" of our U. S. A. abroad in America.

"We have achieved neither nonsegregated church nor a nonsegregated society," he said. "And it is partly because: churches of America have flinched by the spirit of God."

"We come in the fear of G

making stuff at the Literary Digest, wrote the speech-making book place. Theodore M. Wells, leader of

an integrated group from Belleville, N. J., called the entire demonstration "peaceful." "I didn't see a cross book on any one's face," he said. "I didn't hear a profane word." There was no violence. There were no arrests. Americans.

"It is obvious America has defau-

'NAZI' REMOVED

Four arrests were reported, none involving demonstrators. Carl Allen, deputy commissioner of George Lincoln Rockwell's Ku Klux Klan, was arrested for declaring to the multitude before him that "anyone who is not of this race is not of this country."

Nazi Party was removed from the grounds by police after attempting to speak against the rally without a permit. Edward Shell, 29, Arlington, Va., was fined \$10 for grabbing a bank of justice it had.

and waving one demanding to "see the sign." A juvenile was arrested in suburban Hyattsville, Md., on charges of throwing a stone at a bus carrying demonstrators to Washington. This also was the key slogan: "We are not a part of this country."

These isolated incidents were completely overshadowed by the fact that the Washington

the sheet size and enthusiasm of the march from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial, and the emotional demonstration before the Lincoln shrine.

LIKE A PICNIC

Along the way some of the demonstrators sang freedom songs but most in silence.

the movement. So disciplined was the crowd on sandwiches while demonstrators walked by. There was order once the crowd massed for the memorial.

Dr. King said they had a "very fruitful" session with Democratic leader Mansfield (Mont.) Other members of their conference with House and Senate GOP leaders was

...then he thought it over and decided the train would have no effect.

...
Fresh from these conferees Negro leader John Lewis said the memorial grounds thr...

...message From Jail
...ork Official Sends
...the civil rights move-
...at's most forceful Negro
...ers sent word to the rally
...a jail in Louisiana.

James Farmer, director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on racial issues, said his speech had to be "careful."

Farmer, jailed in Pleasanton, Calif., will also deliver the invocation for a demonstration in front of the State Capitol building.

One of the nation's top labor union leaders, Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, said he would lead a parade through the city.

Reuther said he would lead a parade through the city.

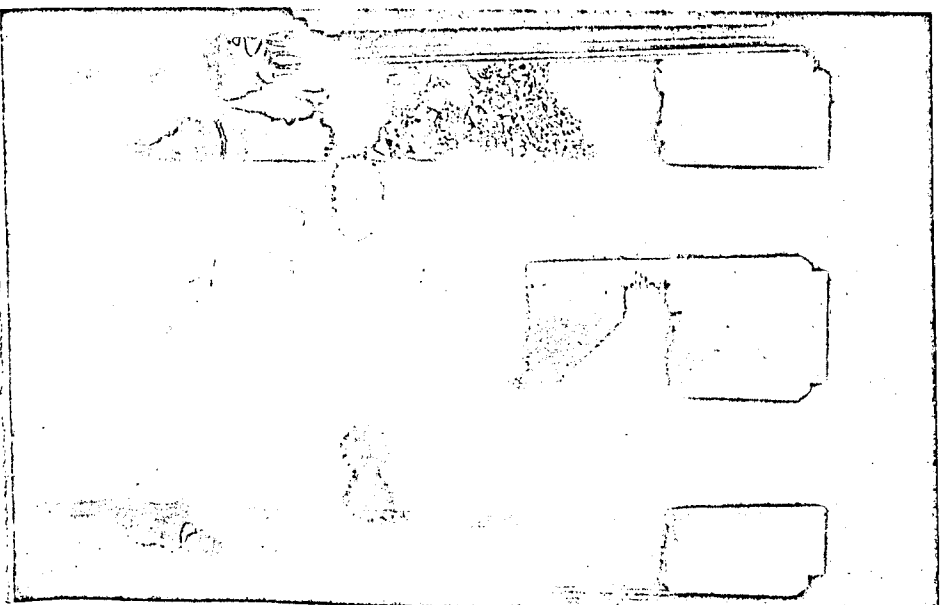
But he was with the rally, and our tramping feet have carried the message," Farwell said. "The message of our people in Louisiana."

"We come in the face of a segregated church, not a segregated society," he said. "And it is partly because of this that churches of America have decided to put their own house in order."

Civil Rights Rally In Nation's Capital

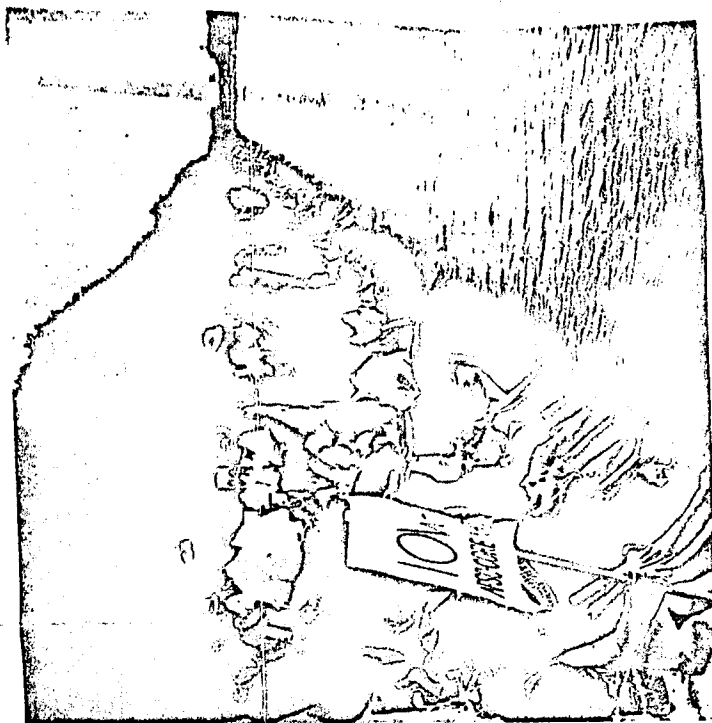


Throng jams along Reflecting Pool between Lincoln Memorial and Washington Monument to hear speakers at ceremonies after March on Washington.



Huge statue of Lincoln looms through columns of Memorial on the vast throng gathered at civil rights march.

AP Wirephoto
Huge statue of Lincoln looks through columns of Memorial on the vast throng gathered at civil rights march.

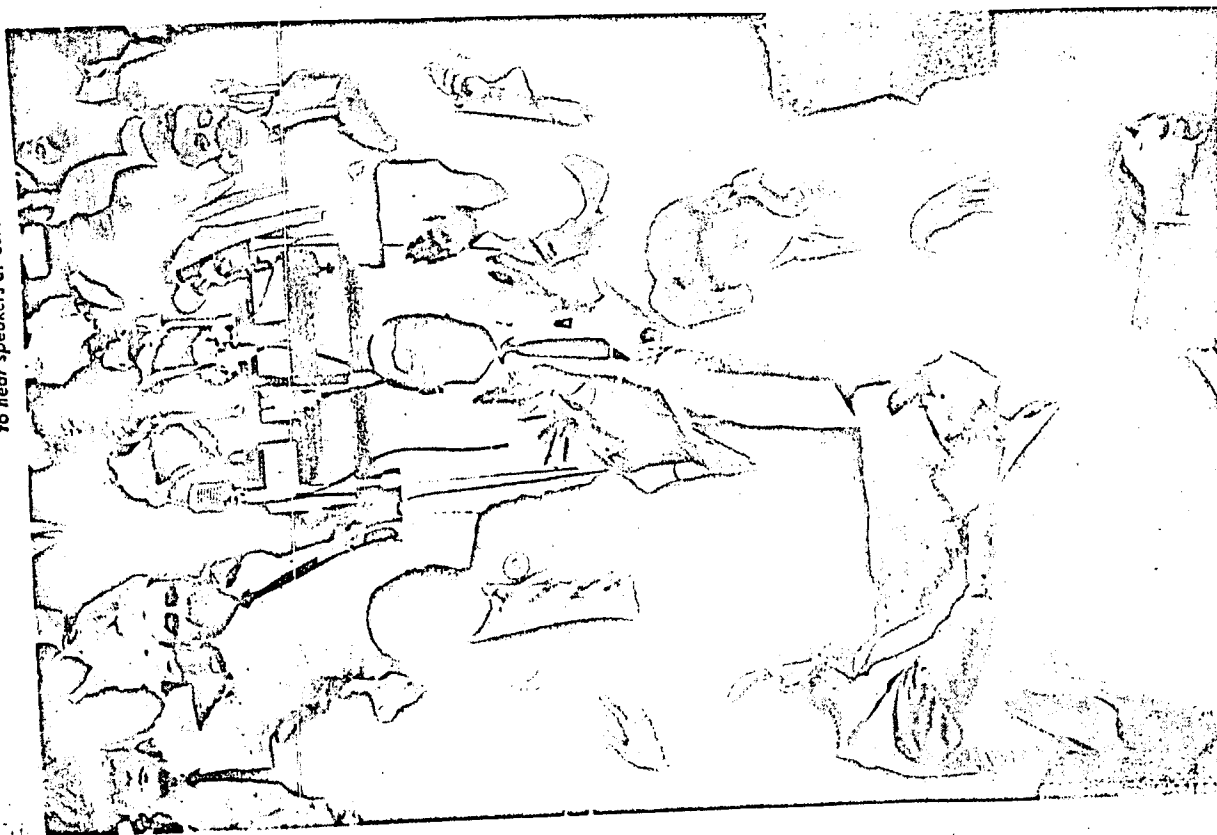


UPI Wirephoto
The Reflecting Pool serves as an oasis for foot-weary marchers, who take opportunity to rest and cool off.



AP Wirephoto
Nearing the end of ceremonies, tired marchers sit on grass at Lincoln Memorial amid litter of the parade—torn placards.

UPI Wirephoto
Martin Luther King Jr. walks along Reflecting Pool between Lincoln Memorial and Washington Monument to hear speakers at ceremonies after March on Washington.



AP Wirephoto
Singer Mahalia Jackson (on podium) leads civil rights marchers in spirited song. Seated on Lincoln Memorial steps are (from left) Sens. Philip Hart (D., Mich.), Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), and William Proxmire (D., Wis.).

'Fuehrer' Fails To Foil March, Raps 'Cowards'

By PATRICK J SLOYAN

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 (UPI).

—For the jut-jawed "Fuehrer" of the American Nazi Party, Wednesday's civil rights demonstration here was a "disgusting failure."

For the marchers, however, said George Lincoln Rockwell, the Nation's largest racial demonstration was a success. "They've got Congress terrified," he said.

But Rockwell, brooding at his headquarters across the Potomac in Arlington, Va., said it was a black day for the American Nazi Party.

"We had 12,000 pledges from people who said they would help us start a counter-demonstration," he said, but only 65 showed up. "The white man didn't have any rights over there," he said.

The party's deputy commander, Carl Allen, of Tallahassee, Fla., tried to spout the Nazi line in the midst of thousands milling near the Washington Monument, and was arrested for attempting to speak without a permit.

Three others were arrested, but were not members of the Nazi Party.

Edward Shell, 20, of Arlington, Va., was fined \$10 for disorderly conduct. Police said Shell grabbed a picket's sign and broke it.

U.S. Park Police arrested a

youth accused of throwing a stone at a bus carrying marchers on an expressway near Hyattsville, Md. The youth was turned over to juvenile authorities. Another youth was arrested after a shotgun was found in his car.

It was Allen's arrest that caused Rockwell and his fellow Nazis to leave the assembly area of the mass rally in a brisk, single-file march.

Back at the barracks, Rockwell said the Nazis failed because "we didn't get to wear our uniforms — khakis, jump

boots and swastika armbands—they always help in a crowd." "We weren't allowed to carry any signs or anything," he added.

Background

Marchers' Pledge

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 (AP).

Civil rights marchers, checking in for Wednesday's demonstration, were given this pledge to sign at the headquarters tent:

"PLEDGE: Standing before the Lincoln Memorial on the 28th of August, in the centennial year of emancipation, I affirm my complete personal commitment for the struggle for jobs and freedom for all Americans.

"To fulfill that commitment, I pledge that I will not relax until victory is won.

"I pledge that I will join and support all actions undertaken in good faith in accord with the time-honored democratic tradition of nonviolent protest, of peaceful assembly and petition and of redress through the courts and the legislative process.

"I pledge to carry the message of the March to my friends and neighbors back home and to arouse them to an equal commitment and an equal effort. I will march and I will write letters. I will demonstrate and I will vote. I will work to make sure that my voice and those of my brothers ring clear and determined from every corner of our land.

"I will pledge my heart and my mind and my body, unequivocally and without regard to personal sacrifice, to the achievement of social peace through social justice."

Prelate Forces Softer Speech

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 (UPI). — A Negro leader who spoke at the Lincoln Memorial Wednesday reportedly toned down his speech after a Roman Catholic Archbishop objected that it was "inflammatory."

The Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, who delivered the invocation at the memorial, was said to have threatened to withdraw from the program unless changes were made in the speech of John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

In his original text, distributed Tuesday, Lewis had denounced the Administration civil rights bill as unworthy of support because of its inadequacies, and had said that Negro demonstrators "will march through the South, the way Sherman did."

It was understood that Archbishop O'Boyle took particular exception to a passage in the prepared text that said:

"We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power outside of any national structure that could and would assure us a victory."

Lewis conceded that he had "modified" certain passages of his talk because "Archbishop O'Boyle objected to them." The Archbishop had no comment on the incident.

Text

President's Statement

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 (AP).—The text of President Kennedy's statement Wednesday on the civil rights demonstration:

WE HAVE witnessed today in Washington tens of thousands of Americans—both Negro and white—exercising their rights to assemble peaceably and direct the widest possible attention to a great national issue.

Efforts to secure equal treatment and equal opportunity for all without regard to race, color, creed or nationality are neither novel nor difficult to understand. What is different today is the intensive and widespread public awareness of the need to move forward in achieving these objectives—objectives which are older than this Nation.

Although this summer has seen remarkable progress in translating civil rights from principles into practices, we have a long way yet to travel.

ONE can not help but be impressed with the deep fervor and the quiet dignity that characterizes the thousands who have gathered in the Nation's Capital from across the country to demonstrate their faith and confidence in our democratic form of government.

History has seen many demonstrations—of widely varying character and for a whole host of reasons. As our thoughts travel to other demonstrations that have occurred in different parts of the world, this Nation can properly be proud of the demonstration that has occurred here today.

The leaders of the organizations sponsoring the march and all who have participated in it deserve our appreciation for the detailed preparations that made it possible and for the orderly manner in which it has been conducted.

THE Executive Branch of the Federal Government will continue its effort to obtain increased employment and to eliminate discrimination in employment practices, two of the prime goals of the march.

In addition, our efforts to secure enactment of the legislative proposals made to the Congress will be maintained, including not only the civil rights bill, but also proposals to broaden and strengthen the manpower development and training program, the Youth Employment Bill, amendments to the vocational educational program, the establishment of a work study program for high school age youth, strengthening of the adult basic education provisions in the Administration's education program and the amendments proposed to the public welfare work-relief and training program.

This Nation can afford to achieve goals of a full employment policy—it can not afford to permit the potential skills and educational capacity of its citizens to be unrealized.

The cause of 20,000,000 Negroes has been advanced by the program conducted so appropriately before the Nation's shrine to the Great Emancipator, but even more significant is the contribution to all mankind.

Dramatic Words Stir

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28. —Some stirring words, in keeping with the dramatic March on Washington, were spoken by civil rights leaders at the Lincoln Memorial Wednesday afternoon:

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee:

"To those who have said 'be patient and wait' we must say that, 'patience is a dirty and nasty work.' We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually, we want our

freedom now."

"In good conscience, we support the Administration's civil rights bill, but with reservations. There's not one thing in the bill that will protect our people from police brutality in its present form."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

"The President's proposals represent so moderate an approach that if anyone is weakened or eliminated, the remain-

der will be little more than sugar-water . . . The President should join us in fighting for something more than pap."

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality who is in a Donaldsonville, La., jail in connection with racial disturbances sent this message:

"You have said to the world by your presence here . . . that in an age of thermonuclear bombs violence is outmoded as a solution to the problems of men."

"It is incomprehensible to us here today and to millions of others far from here that the United States Government, which can regulate the contents of a pill, apparently is powerless to prevent the physical abuse of citizens within its own borders."

Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League: "That we meet here today, in common cause . . . is to the shame of those who have al-

INQUIRER, THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 29, 1963

Throng at Lincoln Memorial

ways blocked the progress of the trial in America today and knowing that the meek shall inherit the earth."

Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers Union, AFL-CIO:

"What is needed now is bold and adequate action to square American democracy's performance with its promise of full citizenship rights and equal rights for all Americans."

"The cause of freedom is on

The Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Doyle, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Washington:

"May the warmth of your love replace the coldness that springs from prejudice and bitterness. . . . Let us understand that simple justice demands that the rights of all be honored by every man. . . . May we shun violence,

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress:

"The real enemy" in the civil rights struggle being waged is "indifference" and "the moral insensibility of millions of Americans who think of themselves as decent people."

"The Jewish people who lived under Adolf Hitler in Nazi Germany learned, that 'no man's rights are safe unless every man's freedom is secured."

Gravest threat to liberty and justice arise when the people choose not to see the wounds of their brothers."

The Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, of Philadelphia, vice chairman of the Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches:

"It is partly because the churches of America have failed to put their own house in order 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation . . . the United States still faces a racial crisis."

March Leaders Gain Slender Hope In Conferences With Legislators

'If' Remains Key Word In Congress

By ROBERT C. ALBRIGHT
Special to The Inquirer
And Washington Post

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 — Leaders of the march on Washington pressed their case for a strengthened civil rights bill Wednesday and related legislation in a quietly impressive two-hour round of conferences with key House and Senate leaders.

But on the record anyway, the limited commitments they brought back from the Capitol were substantially those they already had, and there was no indication they made any new converts.

LEADERS PRAISED

Congressional leaders praised the high-level tone of the conferences and the conduct of the leaders of the march on Washington.

Speaker John W. McCormack (D., Mass.) said that if the march remained orderly, and was "conducted in such a way as to arouse respect and admiration, it will help the bill."

EXTENDS SLIM HOPE

McCormack, whose office was the last stop on the civil rights conference circuit, gave the march leaders the biggest lift of the day by holding out a lean hope that the House civil rights bill could possibly be strengthened.

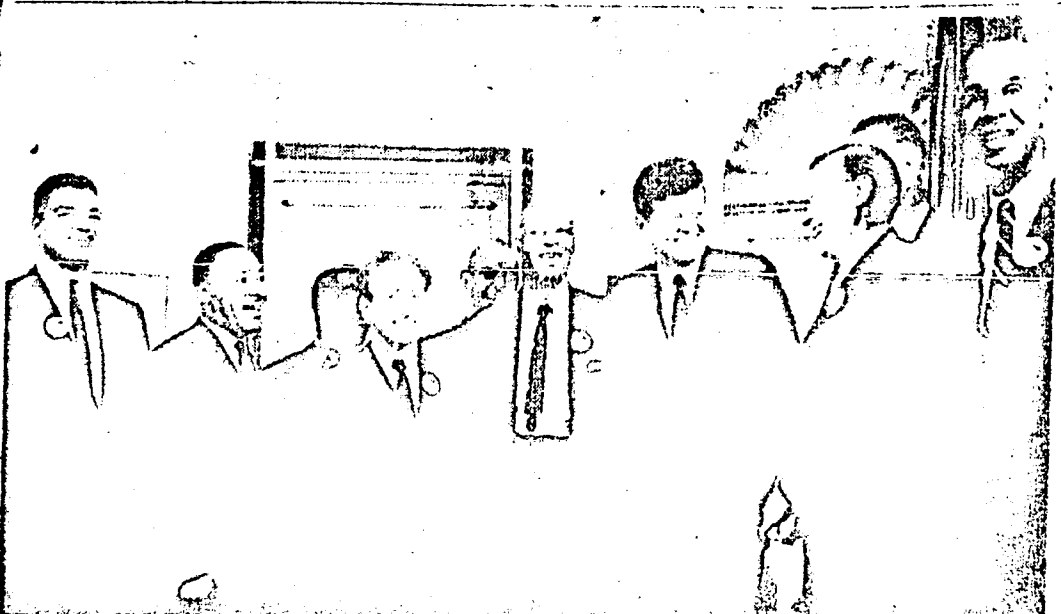
A. Philip Randolph, president of the American Labor Council, quoted the Speaker as assuring the civil rights conferees that "if a fair employment practices bill and 'part three' are put into the package of proposals presented by President Kennedy to Congress, that these two measures would get through the House."

TALKS 'ENCOURAGING'

Randolph said this aspect of the leadership talks was "very encouraging" to the civil rights leaders.

The "part three" referred to goes back to the 1957 civil rights act, when the House voted to grant the Attorney General broad injunctive power in the civil rights area. But the Senate promptly struck the provision from the bill.

The civil rights delegation, NAACP, introduced the leaders urged Congressional leaders to all in their power to add both "part three" and fair employment practices to the bill. McCormack confirmed that he told the delegation that "if" the



Leaders of March on Washington meet with President Kennedy at the White House. In group are (from left) Whitney Young, of National Urban League; the Rev. Martin Luther King, of Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; Rabbi Jo-

Jachim Prinz, of American Jewish Congress; Dr. Eugene Blake, of National Council of Churches; A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president; Mr. Kennedy; Walter Reuther, president of United Auto Workers; Vice President Lyndon Johnson (near) and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP.

ON TIGHT SCHEDULE

The 19 march on Washington leaders, accompanied by three advisers, began their orderly round of Capitol Hill calls at the Senate Office Building suite of Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.).

Here they spent 30 minutes of a tight schedule presenting their case. Then they moved on, via two subway cars, to the Capitol proper. Here both Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.) and House Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck (R., Ind.) waited for them in Dirksen's suite.

PROCESS REPEATED

After a 25-minute exchange with Dirksen and Halleck, they walked to the Speaker's office across the Capitol. There they spent 30 minutes in what they later described as "constructive discussion" with McCormack and House Majority Leader Carl Albert (D., Okla.).

At each of the stops, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the march, Wilkins and Randolph then made the opening presentation of their case for enactment of their case for fair employment practices to the bill, acting an even stronger civil rights package than Mr. Kennedy recommended.

Miss Anderson Late**Noted Singer
Weeps Over
Traffic Tieup**

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 (AP).

SINGER Marian Anderson arrived in tears at the Lincoln Memorial Wednesday, just seconds too late to sing "The Star Spangled Banner" for the official opening of the jobs and freedom civil rights demonstration.

Singer Camilla Williams sang the National Anthem in her place as the crowd, estimated by the police at 200,000, stood hushed, with bowed heads.

Miss Anderson had been caught in the traffic jam and the jam-packed crowd of demonstrators and was unable to arrive to answer her name when she was called to the microphone to sing.

Miss Williams had finished the anthem when Miss Anderson, her head bowed and clearly in tears, hastened up to the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on which the program was being conducted.

Miss Anderson, whose singing career began in a Philadelphia church choir, seemed delighted, along with the throng, by the performance of Miss Williams, of West Philadelphia. Miss Williams holds a Marian Anderson music scholarship.

Later, Miss Anderson appeared on the speakers platform and sang at the request of A. Phillip Randolph, leader of the demonstration. She chose the Negro spiritual "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands."

Europe Reluctant To Comment After Watching Protest

By STEVEN GERSTEL

LONDON, Aug. 29 (Thursday) (AP). — From stately manors in England to coffee bars in Rome, Europe watched the equal rights march in Washington with interest and a reluctance to comments.

Even the Communists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere were relatively restrained in handling the U. S. race problem.

Live television coverage via the Telstar satellite took the scene into the homes of Europeans at peak evening viewing hours.

Some of the reaction:

Russia

Five minutes before the program was to go on, Moscow television canceled plans to screen the march. Instead, it relied on voice description and comment, and presented a panel discussion on "the Negro Revolution" in America.

Moscow Radio also featured the march in a three-minute report that called it the biggest political event in U. S. history. Soviet newspapers published thousands of words on the protest.

Although sympathetic to American Negroes, Russian information media notably refrained from criticizing the American people as a whole, and praised the Administration for its efforts on the civil rights.

The Soviet Government newspaper Izvestia devoted its main editorial to the march, asserting: "The patience of 20 million Negroes has given way. All progressive mankind, all the honest-minded people in the United States wish them success."

"The march on Washington is only the beginning of a long and difficult road. But having once embarked upon it, people fighting for their human dignity will not leave it, will not turn back."

Poland

Poles saw the demonstration in the first Telstar television transmission received in their Communist country.

One pole, impressed by the crowd at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial, said: "It looks like Lincoln is embracing them all with his arms."

"How prosperous they seem," a viewer commented as a Polish announcer related that the marchers were being asked to "return to their buses and cars."

West Germany

In West Germany, the influential Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung said editorially that the march would achieve much if it demonstrated the Negro's ability to organize with discipline.

Britain

In London, the Evening Standard carried a dispatch from its Washington correspondent Lady Jeanne Camp-

bell, daughter of the Duke of Argyll, saying:

"From today on the American Negro intends to become the white man's social equal."

"The way is now open for your daughter and my daughter to marry an American Negro—and hold her head high."

"That is the meaning of the march. That is why it is history."

Lady Jeanne is the granddaughter of press magnate Lord Beaverbrook.

The Vatican

The Vatican radio said the Roman Catholic Church was supporting the march for civil rights.

"The entire moral authority of the principles of Christianity and the teachings of the (Roman Catholic) Church stand near those who work for the destructionh

destruction of every racial formula in relations among men," the broadcast added.

PHILA.
INQUIRER
8/29

Europe Sees March On TV

London, Thursday, Aug. 29 (AP)—From stately manors in the English countryside to coffee bars in Rome, Western Europe surveyed the equal rights march in Washington with interest and cautious reluctance to sermonize on other people's problems. Even the Communists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere were relatively restrained.

Live television coverage via the Telstar satellite took the scene of tens of thousands of American Negroes and whites demonstrating peacefully in Washington yesterday into the homes of West Europeans at peak evening viewing hours.

The television coverage penetrated the Iron Curtain to Warsaw, Poland, but Moscow television canceled plans to screen the march five minutes before the program was due to go on. Instead, it relied on voice description and comment and presented a panel discussion on "the Negro revolution" in America.

Praises Administration

Moscow Radio also featured the march in a three-minute report that called it the biggest political event in United States history. Soviet newspapers published thousands of words on the March. Although sympathetic to American Negroes, Russian news media notably refrained from criticizing the American people as a whole and praised the Administration for its efforts in the civil rights field.

The Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestia* devoted its main editorial to the march, asserting: "The patience of twenty million Negroes has given way. All prog-

ressive mankind, all the honest-minded people in the United States, wish them success.

"The march on Washington is only the beginning of a long and difficult road. But having once embarked upon it, people fighting for their human dignity will not leave it, will not turn back."

No Reason Given

The Soviet television network gave no reason for its cancellation of the scheduled pickup from the Eurovision network in the West.

But as the marchers gathered without police hindrance and demonstrated peacefully, Soviet television directors may have decided that such fare might not be received well in a land where mass demonstrations are forbidden except with official sanction.

In Warsaw, however, Poles saw the demonstration on television screens in the first Telstar transmissions received in Communist Poland.

"How Prosperous They Seem"

The image was often jerky during two fifteen-minute telecasts but viewers could clearly make out closeups of the participants.

One Pole was impressed at the sight of the crowd at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial.

"It looks like Lincoln is embracing them all with his arms," he said.

"How prosperous they seem," a viewer commented as the Polish announcer related that the marchers were being asked to "return to their buses and cars."

The Polish announcer declared: "This is a great moral protest..."

(Continued, Page 11, Column 7)

Arrests For Day Make Total Of 3

By HOWARD NORTON

[Washington Bureau of The Sun]

Washington, Aug. 28—More than 200,000 orderly, well-organized citizens rolled quietly into this capital today, and left as quietly tonight to return to their homes all over the nation.

In the hours between their arrival and departure they staged a civil rights demonstration that looked and sounded more like a Billy Graham revival.

There was no violence, no unpleasantness of any kind, despite the emotionally supercharged issues at stake.

Total Of 3 Arrests

And when it was all over, the police announced that only 3 persons were arrested by the more than 5,000 officers who had been called to duty.

And not one of the three was a visitor. Not one was a Negro.

The three arrests that marred an otherwise perfect police record were all minor affairs.

The deputy commander of the American Nazi party, Carl Allen, of Florida, was taken into custody when he ignored police warnings against making a speech without a permit.

78 Follow Rockwell Away

He was freed this afternoon on \$300 bond.

After the arrest, George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the Nazis, stomped off the scene, followed by 78 supporters.

Edward Schell, 20, a resident of nearby Arlington, Va., forfeited \$10 collateral when he was arrested on a disorderly conduct charge, after he allegedly jumped into the line of march and tried to snatch one of the placards.

And Robert Dugan, 21, of Alexandria, Va., was arrested at Fourteenth and K streets about a half hour after the demonstration ended, when he was found carrying a loaded sawed-off shotgun on the front seat of his car.

Says Gun Was For Protection

He told police, they said, that he was carrying it for his own protection.

He was charged with possession of a prohibited weapon.

In spite of the record size of the crowd of demonstrators only one pickpocket case was reported.

Mrs. Hazel F. Lewis, 50, a visitor from Baltimore, told police that a purse containing \$5 and a return ticket to Baltimore on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway was snatched from her handbag.

The demonstration was aimed at dramatizing the Negro citizens' demand for full equality in civil rights.

The Sun (Balti.) 8/29

City And State Contingents Swell Throng On D.C. March

Thousands of marchers flood Maryland roads returning from demonstration in capital Page 46

By CHARLES WHITEFORD
(Sun Staff Correspondent)

Washington, Aug. 28—The pilgrims gathered early at St. Peter Claver Catholic Church in Baltimore.

After a mass, coffee, doughnuts and an admonition to try to duck if they saw bricks flying their way during the day, they boarded buses for the trip to Washington and the great civil rights demonstration.

Priests Ride On Buses

Some 50 priests, many of them bus riders, were in the contingent of several hundred who were to march under the banner of the Baltimore Catholic Interracial Council.

Mayor McKeldin was there to see them off. Three nuns waved a "God be with you" to the pilgrims.

The cavalcade grew as it swung past Lafayette Square and Metropolitan Methodist Church. Religious differences were forgotten. Before the cavalcade hit the

Washington expressway, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, labor and civic contingents were rolling along together.

Like a stream hitting the Mississippi, the Baltimore buses were intermixed with a seemingly endless flood of vehicles bearing "March on Washington" signs moving south on the expressway.

The 40 Negroes and whites on the bus sponsored by St. Pius V Church cracked jokes, munched on buns and drank orange juice as they moved along.

Only Unsympathetic Note

A passing car, bearing the legend, "National Association for the Advancement of White People," drew nothing but smiles.

That one sign, incidentally, was the only unsympathetic note encountered during the day.

The Baltimoreans encountered many familiar faces as they joined

(Continued, Page 12, Column 4)

The Weather
 Cloudy today, high near 85. Showers this afternoon into tonight. Clearing tomorrow. Yesterday's high, 85; low, 64. Details and map on Page 30.

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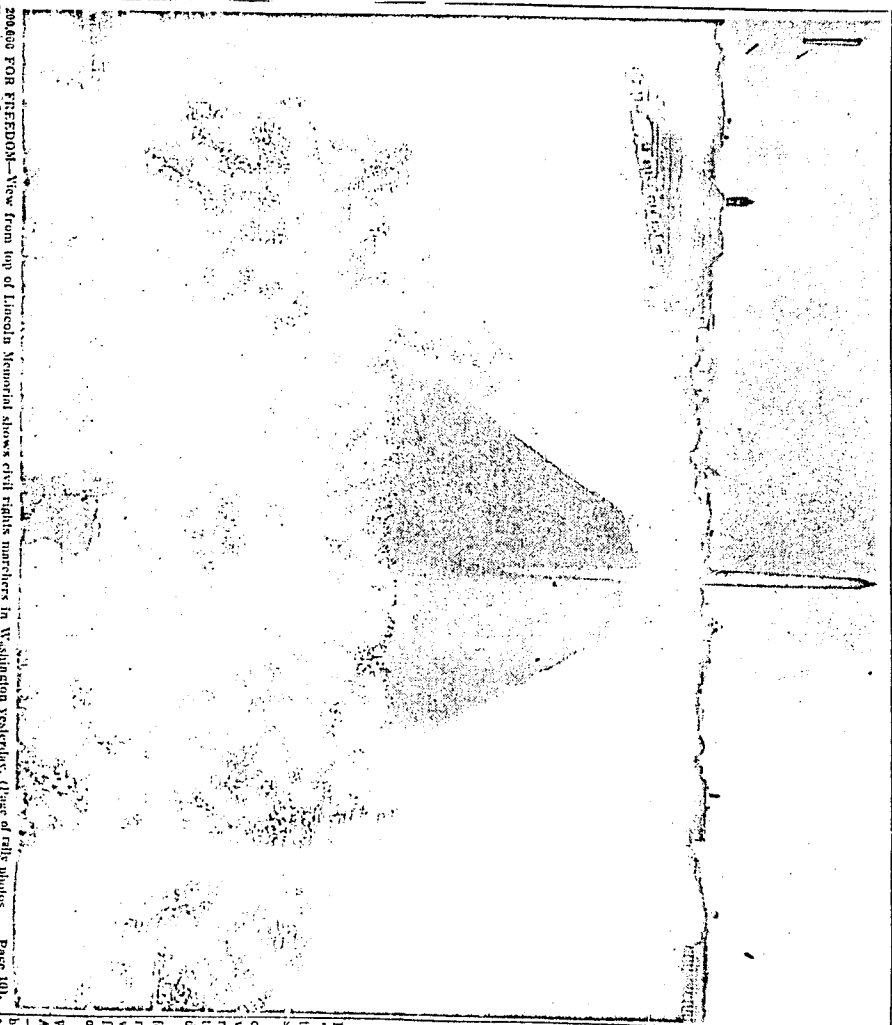
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SUN

Zantinger Gets 6 Months And \$500 Fine; Back Page

200,000 Attend Peaceful D.C. March Kennedy Says 'Nation Can Be Proud' President Signs Bill Averting National Rail Strike



200,000 FOR FREEDOM—View from top of Lincoln Memorial shows civil rights marchers in Washington yesterday. (Image of rally photos... Page 10).

ORDERLY CROWD HEARS APPEALS FOR FREEDOM, RACIAL 'TOGETHERNESS'

President Sees Cause Of U.S. Negroes Advanced, Calls Civil Rights Gathering 'Contribution To All Mankind'

As of early this morning, no reports had been received from any part of the country of violence or disturbances involving the participation of thousands of demonstrators homeward-bound from their civil rights march on Washington.

President D.C. March

BY WILLIAM KNUXTON, JR.
 (Washington Bureau of The Sun)
 Washington, Aug. 29—President Kennedy declared tonight that the "nation can properly be proud" of the massive civil rights demonstration here today.

Not only was the cause of this country's 20,000,000 Negroes advanced, but the program was even more significant in its contribution to all mankind, the President asserted.

The Chief Executive issued a formal statement, praising the about 200,000 strong on the great marchers after he had conferred with their leaders for an hour and fifteen minutes in his White House office.

"We have witnessed today in Washington tens of thousands of Americans—both Negro and white—exercising their right to assembly peacefully and effecting the widest possible attention to a great

BY PHILIP POTTER
 (Washington Bureau of The Sun)
 Washington, Aug. 29—A huge crowd of Negroes and white—one of the biggest ever to come to the national capital—today mingled peacefully at the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial to a continuing struggle for jobs and freedom for all Americans.

Marching on Washington by train, bus, plane, private automobile and on foot, they assembled about 200,000 strong on the great marchers after he had conferred with their leaders for an hour and fifteen minutes in his White House office.

The Chief Executive issued a formal statement, praising the about 200,000 strong on the great marchers after he had conferred with their leaders for an hour and fifteen minutes in his White House office.

"We have witnessed today in Washington tens of thousands of Americans—both Negro and white—exercising their right to assembly peacefully and effecting the widest possible attention to a great

APR 1968

national issue," the President said.

Discusses Left—then Mr. Kennedy and the biracial committee held a friendly meeting, discussing the possibilities of the passage of civil rights legislation this year. But all was not business, for during a part of the period there was considerable banter among the participants as they munched sandwiches and sipped tea and coffee.

The President followed the demonstration via the television set in his office, in between official appointments and conferences with his staff. He was greatly relieved at the orderliness of the march and congratulated the ten leaders on its outcome and significance.

While posing for pictures with the march organizers, Mr. Kennedy remarked that he had heard some of the speeches.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and march chairman, asked him if he had heard the speech of Walter Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers.

"No, I did not hear Walter—but" (Continued, Page 11, Column 6)

strained with exhaustion and drowsy, after all-night rides on buses and trains, simply laid down on the dry sod under the trees along Constitution and Independence avenues and slept.

"Pass the Bill" They applauded celebrities from Hollywood and Broadway, greeted senators and House members with chants of "Pass the Bill, Pass the Bill."

They were moved by impassioned appeals from such Negro leaders as the Rev. Martin Luther King, the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, for "Freedom now."

But they were a peaceful, orderly crowd of Americans.

They had come to witness for integration and to cry an end to "second-class citizenship" for the Negro race, but the only bitterness that found voice today was that of a few white men on the periphery, a cluster of American Nazis around the person of George Lincoln Rockwell, who smoked a corncob pipe as he held a day-long news conference for any reporter who would listen to his views.

Observes Rules The little group of twenty or so—Rockwell had hoped for 10,000, but said the white "cowards" of Virginia and Maryland had not responded—malevolently eyed the gigantic jubilee across Fourteenth street, but held rigidly to the conduct Police Chief Robert Murray had laid down for them.

They were out of their khaki uniforms with Swastika armbands, carried no placards, as is their wont, and except for the loquacious chief they were silent and morose.

When Carl Allen, deputy commander, tired of this pattern and sought to break it with a speech, the police promptly arrested him.

This was a day of white and black "togetherness" and they were no part of it.

It was also a day, according to Senator Humphrey (D., Minn.), assistant Democratic leader of the Senate and a march participant, "of good manners, good humor, yet solid purpose—good for Washington, good for the country and good for the world."

Noting that it was a fully integrated audience of whom a substantial part were white, and that a goodly number of priests, min-

(Continued, Page 11, Column 1)

THURSDAY MORNING



RUSSIAN TIES WITH SLAVS

U.S. Backs Israeli Charges Blaming Syria For Slayings

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The Sun (Baste) 8/29

D.C. Rally Described As Flawless

By GERALD GRIFFIN

(Washington Bureau of The Sun)

Washington, Aug. 28—The greatest achievement of the march on Washington today, as shown in the comments of those who watched it and were in it, was its powerful, but orderly, demonstration of the Negroes' responsibility and determination. They came to the nation's capital as citizens exercising their right of peaceful assembly and their right to petition their Government for a redress of grievances, as it was pointed out.

Humphrey Lauds "Manners" Their performance, and the performance of their leaders which was reflected in the organization and conduct of the marchers, was generally described as flawless. Senator Humphrey (D., Minn.), the assistant Democratic leader of the Senate and an ardent advocate of new civil rights legislation, set the tone of the reaction of members of Congress who went to the Lincoln Memorial to have a part in the ceremony. Humphrey praised the huge

crowd for its "good manners, good intentions and determination."

Humphrey, like other members of Congress, said it was unlikely that the demonstration had changed any votes for the civil rights bill. But, he said, the march was "a good thing for Washington and the nation and the world."

At the other end of congressional reaction was that of Senator Thurmond (D., S.C.), as strong in his opposition to the civil rights program as Humphrey is for it. When Thurmond was asked what he

thought about the march, he said, "I think it's uncalled for and unnecessary."

Thurmond said he thought the march would not affect Congress. He added, "At least it should not."

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the Negro leaders, said the march will be remembered as "the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation."

Representative Hawkins (D.,

(Continued, Page 11, Column 9)

RIGHTS BILL AIMS GIVEN

13 Leaders Hold Talks With Congressional Chiefs

By JOSEPH H. L. STERN

(Washington Bureau of The Sun)

Washington, Aug. 28—Thirteen civil rights leaders were given a cordial but cautious reception on Capitol Hill this morning before they took part in the mass march from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial.

In private talks with the Democratic and Republican leaderships, they stressed their desire for a civil rights bill even stronger than the omnibus package President Kennedy has sent to Congress.

The organizers of the march on Washington placed special emphasis on the need for a section

(Continued, Page 11, Column 7)

200,000 Rights Marchers Gather In Peaceful D. C. Demonstration

CROWD HEARS
LEADERS CALL
FOR FREEDOM

Appeals Are Made For
Jobs And Racial
'Togetherness'

Mr. Philip H. Hays

Επιμέλεια: Γεώργιος Π.

Isidore and public were shocked at seeing the tens of thousands, not just "radicals or Communists," but constructive citizens—John Lewis, chairman of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who has carried the banner of the Negro demonstrations in Cambridge, was so famed by the tolerant and the speeches of other—and the congenial fellowship of the thousands in the audience that he trimmed most of the harsher words that was to have been the roughest speech of the day.

The Associated Press reported it had learned from a competent source the Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Reilly, Catholic Archbishop of Washington, had so indicated he would refuse to give the invocation unless the speech were changed.

Lewis was critical of the fact that the party of President Kennedy had room for a Senator Eastland, D. Miss., and that the Democratic party of Senator Javorski, N. York, liberal had room for a Senator Goldwater, R., of

Mr. Ariz, but he counted when he charged his prepared speech the speaker charge that this was in violation of the rules of the House, where the speakers were held on personal grounds and compromises.

we cannot depend on any political party, for both the major parties and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of Americanism.

...was "part of an immoral conspiracy on the part of the [central government] and local politicians in the interest of ex-

...revolution is a "serious danger" that would keep every Negro in the streets "until which"

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

of this, R. A. Howard, Fair Labor Union, said: "I have a poll-book—1,300 of them assigned to the march approach—well, no discussion the thousands of them, and I have asked what was the purpose of the march?"

**PRESIDENT
SEES GAINS
FOR NEGROES**

[illegible][illegible]

**CIVIL RIGHTS BILL
AINS PRESENTED**

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Public Awareness

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There were no federal wage controls, no federal employment and wage standards, no federal powers for the various national policy-making agencies in any domestic large enterprise, and no "economic" controls on the part of the Federal Government. Kennedy made that point, and promised on the Presidential campaign to "authorize and encourage the Federal Government to take such action as will be necessary to bring about a living standard and public accommodations for all Americans."

our thoughts travel to the man, and he could not speculate restraint and good nature. demonstrations that have on whether either or both of the in different parts of the country. proposals mentioned. Hence what members of Can- tion can possibly by McCormack would be added some way to this meeting.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL
AIMS PRESENTED

13 Leaders Hold Tight to the Congressional Gate

The following table shows the results of the survey of the use of the word "God" in the Bible. The table is divided into two main sections: "Old Testament" and "New Testament". Each section is further divided into "Books" and "Verses". The "Books" column lists the books of the Bible, and the "Verses" column lists the verses in which the word "God" is used. The "Old Testament" section includes the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Malachi, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Malachi. The "New Testament" section includes the books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thimothee, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, James, Peter, John, Jude, and Revelation. The "Verses" column lists the verses in which the word "God" is used, and the "Old Testament" and "New Testament" columns show the number of times the word "God" is used in each book and verse.

"Very Encouraging"

very encouraging.

Baltimore, Conn., is a halfway station, however, that McClellan's if was a large one. These informants said they were

a provision entailing private in-
spect for competitive selection
of the Attorney General, pro-
posed to outlaw discrimination in
employment and such broader
measures as some water for com-
munes on the President's prom-
ise to accept, merely would com-

the accommodation.
Representative C. C. D. N. in
the Judiciary Committee also
said he could not speculate
whether either or both of the
interior proposals mentioned
McCormack would be added.

8/29

After Rally, Appraisal . . .

By John G. Rogers
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

WASHINGTON.

President Kennedy said last night that the nation can "properly be proud" of yesterday's massive civil rights demonstration which advanced "the cause of 20 million Negroes" and also that of all mankind.

In a statement issued soon after a 75-minute meeting with the leaders of the historic march from the Washington Monument, to the Lincoln Memorial, Mr. Kennedy added:

"Although this summer has seen remarkable progress in translating civil rights from principle into practice, we have a very long way to travel. One can not help but be impressed with the deep fervor and the quiet dignity that

characterizes the thousands who have gathered in the nation's capital. . . . The executive branch of the Federal government will continue its efforts to obtain increased employment and to eliminate discrimination in employment practices, two of the prime goals of this march."

Other comments included the following:

SEN. HUBERT HUMPHREY, D., Minn.:

"It was a very happy, good-natured and yet determined group. . . . This march was good for Washington, the country and the world. It should be noted that it was fully integrated.

"The march will have an effect on legislation. Millions of Americans saw the demonstration. . . . The American people will speak to their representatives in Congress about what they saw and heard. The country's free news media performed perhaps their greatest service of this century."

SEN. JACOB K. JAVITS, R., N. Y.:

"The crowd was orderly and enthusiastic. And it's a great thing that so many white people joined in. We're making progress."

SEN. GEORGE D. AIKEN, R., VT.:

"It went off all right but I don't think it made any change in the legislative situation. It did the participants some good. They all feel now that they have a part in the crusade."

DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE, Under Secretary of the United Nations for Political Affairs, and the grandson of a Negro slave:

"We couldn't have gotten this kind of support from the nation 20 years ago. It's the greatest expression of democracy in action that America has ever seen. This problem must be settled quickly with radical measures or else it will bring us great difficulties. Any one who can't see this is either deaf or blind."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and chief architect of the march:

"Our meeting with the President was friendly and co-operative. . . . we were greatly delighted over the demonstration in Washington which we believe probably was the biggest and most co-operative in the history of our nation. It. . . will have a great influence on our Congress and the moral behavior of our people. . . . history was written which will have a profound effect on future generations."

WALTER REUTHER, president of the United Auto Workers:

"We are pleased that the march went so well. . . . It's a sign that what we've done here today is the start of proving that men of good will can and will make progress on the equal rights issue. . . . It laid the groundwork for co-operation among all races and creeds. . . and told the apostles of hatred their views are not prevailing."

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, one of the foremost Negro leaders:

"This was one of the great days for America. The march will go down as the greatest demonstration in our history. People who marched will go back and get their Congressmen to work for civil rights legislation. We need hard work to get it. . . ."

WHITNEY YOUNG, of the National Urban League:

"This march cleared the air of two things: The civil rights question is not a revolution of leaders—it is a grass roots determination of millions of brown Americans to get their just rights. Secondly, we are not seeking the support of one party of the other. It is merely a distinction between cowards and men who are not afraid to do the right thing."

ROY WILKINS, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

"The people were the real story here. . . . not the speakers. Do you know what it means for a man to give up two or three days of work and pay to come here from wherever he lives in the United States?"

THE POWER

There was not a slack-looking person in the whole assemblage, and the only blue jeans to be seen were worn by some young workers from the Students Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee fresh from the danger areas in Mississippi. And because they wore their firing-line "uniform" of the Southern Negro field hand, they got tremendous applause from the others.

The power of this demonstration was felt by all the observers, and the root of this power was conspicuously the personal involvement of each individual who had traveled here from his home to demonstrate.

This idea of his own personal involvement in the struggle has become dramatically the most potent force moving on the American scene. The feeling of immeasurable pride felt by these marchers shone from the faces of young Negro girls and old Negro men, and the sound of freedom soared over Washington as they sang out their hearts.

As you walked up from Lincoln Memorial against the tide of marching demonstrators on Constitution Ave. you were quickly overwhelmed by the singing and the equality demands on the marching signs, and by the warm combination of good nature, good order and utter determination.

What it added up to was a display of responsibility by

the Negro people that will not only go down in history, but which, one cannot doubt, will affect Congress' handling of the Administration's civil rights bill and future legislation.

Picture the scene:

The gathering of the tens of thousands on the grassy, tree-shaded Eclipse behind the White House and on the slope of park near the Washington Monument, facing down that vista of unparalleled beauty, the rectangular reflecting pool set in a grassy plot and leading down to the marble edifice that is the Lincoln Memorial.

Then the acres of park all jam-packed with this orderly crowd waiting for the word to march, and then the streaming columns moving out with almost military efficiency into the two avenues bordering the reflecting pool—Independence Ave. on the Potomac side and Constitution Ave. on the other.

This was the march. It began at 11:15 a. m. and continued to 1:45 p. m., converging before the Memorial.

THE SONGS

The happy hordes did not so much march as stroll along in loose-flowing formation. They sang old spirituals, they sang the new freedom songs, and they sang the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" which Julia Ward Howe wrote in the Willard Hotel a few blocks from the Memorial on one sleepless night early in the Civil War.

They had been riding all night, but they looked bright and eager, and they carried thousands of anti-segregation signs.

"No U. S. dough to help Jim Crow grow!" "We seek the freedom in 1963 promised in 1863!" "We want first-class citizenship." "A century-old debt to pay!" "Be one with God—speak for freedom!"

There were endless variations of signs and slogans, and the singing was superb.

The shrine that was the assembly point was so entirely appropriate that you looked at it in a new way. This arble edifice 80 feet high serves as a monumental canopy over Daniel Chester French's heroic statue of Abraham Lincoln, who is sitting as if in meditation in an armchair.

The seated Lincoln is 19 feet high. His right hand is clasped loosely over the arm of his chair, the left is clenched in determination.

Picture 210,000 Negroes and whites standing in petition before the hallowed Lincoln who emancipated the Negro people exactly a century ago.

THE THRONGS

Picture the representation of this crowd—every state in the Union, hundreds of organizations, church groups with their ministers and union locals with their shop stewards, boy and girl students, men in wheel chairs, women limping on crutches.

And seated before them, in front of Abraham Lincoln, the leaders of the Negro people of America, and the Negro heroes of the current struggle for civil rights, and the press and broadcasting representatives from all the countries of the world.

The lawn around the Reflecting Pool could not accommodate everybody, and so hundreds of marchers were deployed to grassy places under the big elms and oaks. There they lay down their marching signs and broke out picnic lunches while loudspeakers carried the platform program to them as they rested in comfort with shoes off.

There was a picnic quality about the whole assemblage anyway, a kind of church picnic quality, and there was something that went with this picnic atmosphere. This was a feeling that is often hard for people to get in their every-day life.

A feeling for country. Tens of thousands of these petitioning Negroes had never been to Washington before, and probably would never come again. Now here they were. And this was their Washington, their very own Capitol, and this was their lawn and that great marble memorial was their own memorial to the man who had emancipated them.

Even while they were demanding, with their marching signs and freedom songs, the first-class citizenship that has been denied them they were, indeed, enjoying their rights as first-class American citizens by rolling out their picnic banquets on their own U. S. A. property and exuding a feeling of joy and content.

THE SPEECHES

If the march of the 210,000 had been in the nature of a "witnessing" of Negro aspirations and demands, the platform program of oratory and ceremony was in the nature of a sermon.

There was nothing new in what was said. They had heard it all before. And it was largely addressed to the rest of America anyway.

The style of delivery by these outstanding Negro orators was noble. The message was clear, painfully clear, shamefully clear. And yet, with hardly an exception, the speeches were dignified even as they were searing.

A. Phillip Randolph, the patriarchal head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who first proposed a

march on Washington 30 years ago, was the officiating chairman of the program. White-haired and statesman-like, he introduced the various speakers with fatherly pride.

Not everybody on the platform felt the same way. John Lewis, chairman of the Students Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, had prepared a fire-eating speech that slashed away at the Kennedy Administration in merciless fashion.

Protests were expressed from others on the platform against allowing the speech to be delivered in its original form. In the end Mr. Lewis moderated it considerably.

THE CHEERS

The three major faiths as well as the major civil rights organizations were represented in the speaking program.

But it was Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. whose talk brought the biggest cheers from the massive audience. Dr. King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is a tremendously moving figure to all the Negro people, and he began by telling them that a hundred years after emancipation "the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity."

"In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check," he said. "When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be granted the unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

"It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note in so far as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked 'insufficient funds.'"

"But we refuse to believe that the Bank of Justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check—a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice."

Dr. King warned that "there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro people against allowing their 'marvelous new militancy' to lead them to a distrust of all white people."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, was an especially happy figure when he was called to address the crowd. He is a 30-year fighter in the cause, and he was surmounted many of the difficulties that beset his organization recently when the young and exuberant new civil rights groups began to steal the publicity. He was never so strong and influential a figure in the Negro world and on the national scene as he is today, and his demeanor was altogether jaunty.

"We are here today because we want the Congress of the United States to hear from us, in person, what many of us have told our public officials back home," he said. "We want freedom!"

One of the leading figures in the civil rights movement sent a message from his jail cell. James Farmer, head of the Congress of Racial Equality, is in jail in Donaldsville, La., for demonstrating for civil rights.

Rolling Down From N. Y.: Hopes, Fears and Holiday

By Charles Portis
Of The Herald Tribune Staff
WASHINGTON.

William Penn, an exuberant young man in beret and wrap-around sun glasses, sneaked on Bus 10 twice in the confusion, but was caught both times and ejected.

"Look lady, I've been with the cause all the way," he said. "Now how about a seat?"

"I don't want to tell you again, Penn," said George Johnson, 30-year-old trail boss of CORE's 24-bus convoy to Washington. "You're supposed to be on Bus 6; now get on it and stay on it."

It was 2 a. m. at the staging area, 125th St. and Seventh Ave., and Mr. Johnson already had his hands full with a hundred other problems. One group was complaining about having to ride on a school bus. A French TV crew had no tickets and wanted to get on Bus 10. Many youngsters were running around swapping tickets to be near friends.

Mr. Johnson finally threw up his hands. "All right, all right, I've had it. Get on your buses and stay there. No more switching. We're leaving."

Departure time was set for

2:30 a. m. We left at 3:40. Just before pulling out, however, the 34-year-old unemployed Mr. Penn came swinging aboard again, this time with a No. 10 ticket. "I got this cat to switch with me," he explained. "I told him No. 6 was air-conditioned."

Mr. Johnson was too tired to argue.

Everyone wanted to get on No. 10 because it was a prestige bus. Mr. Johnson was on it as captain and so were such other CORE luminaries as Omar Ahmed and Jim Peck.

The rest—there were 49 of us, including 27 whites—were a mixed bag of earnest young ideologues, middle-aged women and teen-agers. Mr. Penn was in a holiday mood. He wanted to sing and crack jokes.

No one else did, however. As soon as we had passed through the Lincoln Tunnel nearly everyone went to sleep. Occasionally there was muttering in the back of the bus—"Make Penn get in and sleep," or "Shut up, Penn."

At five we stopped for a break at a Cranbury, N. J., bus terminal. It was a mob scene, hundreds of buses.

"I hope this march will put the fear of God in our Congressmen," said Mr. Johnson, sipping coffee from a paper cup. "But you just can't put any faith in white men."

At a near-by table a 15-year-old Negro boy named Bill Swinton was having coffee with his "Big Brother," Marvin Holmes, a 39-year-old white man. As a Big Brother, Mr. Holmes spends much of his free time taking Bill to ball games and shows. Bill is an orphan who lives with his aunt in the Bronx. A few weeks ago Mr. Holmes asked Bill if he wouldn't like to go to the big march.

Back on the Jersey Turnpike at 5:55, this time with the three French TV men aboard. They had been following in a car. Dawn was breaking, but there is really nothing to see on that featureless super highway. Just fog hanging in the low places of the meadows.

An hour and a half later we stopped at New Castle, Del., at a place called "Clemente's"—largest bus stop in the world. I don't know how they figure that. The place at Cranbury looked bigger. More coffee.

"Lord, I hope we don't have any trouble down there," said Dorothy Jones, a middle-aged Negro woman from Manhattan. "That would just maybe show that we're not ready for responsibilities. But you know, I think we are. We're ready to give something to this country, and we want to give."

Did she have any trouble getting the day off?

"Oh no. Good old Mayor Wagner. I work at the city Personnel Department." Mrs. Jones' seat-mate on the bus was Mrs. Ruby Borges, her supervisor in the department. Also a Negro, Mrs. Borges was one of three people aboard who could speak French well enough to be interviewed by the TV men.

Ready to go again at 8:30. "Penn Where's Penn?" A search was instituted. After most of the buses had left, he finally showed.

"We've been waiting for you for 20 minutes," said Mr. Johnson, furious.

"I've been in the bathroom."

He tried once again to start to sing, but no one was very interested. They wanted to talk.

"A Chinese-African alliance seems to me the most obvious thing in the world," said Mr. Ahmed.

"If we cannot solve this domestic race problem, we, as a nation cannot survive," said Mr. Johnson.

"You'll have to define your term," said E. F. Karman, a 35-year-old white Peace Corps member, who is leaving for Algeria soon. "Do you mean that in the context of 1870 or 1910 or what?"

"Well, if it comes to that, I'll take Chinese imperialism before Western imperialism," said 19-year-old Wayne Kinsler, one of the Negro sit-ins arrested last week at City Hall.

This time it was Mr. Penn who went to sleep.

Through the Baltimore area there were groups of Negroes on the sidewalks waving at us. One girl had a sign saying, "You tell 'em."

Same thing in Washington, the sidewalks were lined with wavers.

We crossed the city limits at 10:30. One of the first things to come into view was the Washington Monument. "One of these days, we're going to change that ti the Booker T. Washington Monument," said Mr. Johnson.

The Washington police were terrific. The city was alive with buses, but it took just 20 minutes to pilot us in to our parking place on Independence Ave. and 17th St.

We had been on the road seven hours and ten minutes and the bus tachometer said we had gone just 221 miles from that dark Harlem street corner. Everyone was rumped and sticky and had grainy eyes. But spirits picked up immediately as soon as we piled out on the grassy mall.

The buoyant Mr. Penn stepped out ahead of everyone and Mr. Johnson had to call him back. "We are in this town to do some marching," said Mr. Penn. "I'd say, let's go to it."

NEW YORK
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20

Thursday, August 29, 1963

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A Great Day in American History

The march on Washington was an inspiring example of constructive citizenship. It proved that a vast number of people can assemble in order, and dignity, for a righteous cause.

The demonstration in the nation's capital was in every way a credit to all its leaders, and to all its participants. They did what they planned—to speak in a mighty voice for equal rights for all. Credit also goes to the police, who conducted themselves superbly, to the Administration, which gave intelligent counsel, and, we might add, to potential trouble makers who decided on restraint.

The cynic can say that the marchers didn't change a single vote

in Congress. They may ask: What was accomplished?

Well, the mere fact that there was a demonstration, in such size and organized success, advanced the cause of racial equality. It was a skillful piece of propaganda, of course, but the march on Washington can't be ignored as a persuasive force. Call it pressure if you will, but it was pressure—peaceable, decent and honorable—for what is right.

The spirit of the demonstration spoke eloquently for individual rights, and its orderliness reflected the nobility of its purpose and the dedication of its movers. We have in truth witnessed an historic day in the fight for democratic ideals.

Capital March Is Viewed As 'Day of Disgrace'

By David Lawrence

WASHINGTON.

The "March on Washington" will go down in history as marking a day of public disgrace—a step backward in the evolution of the American system of government. For the image of the United States presented to the world is that of a republic which had professed to believe in voluntarism rather than coercion, but which on August 28, 1963, permitted itself to be portrayed as unable to legislate "equal rights" for its citizens except under the intimidating influence of mass demonstrations.

The press, television and radio, the public forums in halls and stadiums—all have been available heretofore as mediums through which the "right of petition" could be effectively expressed and public opinion formed on controversial questions. But a minority group—led by men who drew to their side church leaders and groups as well as civic organizations—decided that a massive publicity stunt would be a better way to impress Congress and the President with the idea that unemployment and racial discrimination can be legislated out of existence.

Government by mob has on a few occasions in the past darkened the pages of American history. A. Philip Randolph, the leader of the "march" this week, frankly characterized the "march" as a symbol of "revolution." He said:

"In our pluralistic democratic society, causes must gain acceptance and approval and support. They can only gain acceptance, approval and support if they can get attention, and in order to get attention—with numerous causes seeking the focus of public opinion—it is necessary for the dramatization to be developed of a given cause. . . ."

Mr. Randolph, however, was not content with trying to mobilize American public opinion. He told an audience at the National Press Club on Monday that the "March on Washington" would bring into "world focus" the struggle of peoples of color in America "for first-class citizenship." He added:

"It will have the value of giving the peoples of the world some concept of this problem. . . . It will serve to bring world pressure upon the United States of America to step up the struggle to wipe out race bias, because in the cold war—in the conflict of the free world with the totalitarian world—the free world is seeking the alliance of the Afro-Asian world. And in order that the free world may win the alliance of the Afro-Asian world, the free world must show that we are not only making promises to Africa and promises to Asia to help them advance their cause, but we are going to keep our promises, fulfill our promises with our own citizens at home—especially Negroes of African descent.

"Africa will not trust the United States in its promise to the peoples of Africa unless they realize and understand that the Negroes here in America are giving and evincing basic trust in the promises that have been made by our own country to them. And so, the 'March on Washington' is an expression, a great step forward of the confrontation between the civil-rights revolution and our American society."

But could not the merits of the civil-rights "revolution" have been presented effectively to American audiences without street demonstrations? Couldn't the State Department and the "Voice of America" instead have dealt comprehensively abroad with the story of the efforts being made inside the United States to deal with the "civil rights" problems?

Also, would it not have been better if the leaders of the "march" had not by their tactics incurred some unfavorable publicity? What shall be said, for instance, of the Gallup Poll result published this week in many newspapers which indicated that 63 per cent of the American people disapproved of the "March on Washington" and thought it unnecessary? Last month another Gallup Poll revealed that six out of every ten Americans believe the mass demonstrations by the Negroes would hurt their cause.

The "right of petition" is a fundamental principle of the Constitution, but it assumes an orderly and non-provocative procedure. The Federal government had to go to large expense to police the Wednesday demonstration here and to keep people from crowding into the city who might participate in disorders. To say that the "march" was successful because large-scale violence was avoided is to ignore the bitterness and resentment prevalent on that day in a city whose normal community life was disrupted. Tens of thousands of people remained secluded in their homes lest they become injured or subjected to unwarranted delays in moving to and from their residences. American citizens were prevented from pursuing their customary ways. Their right to go to their places of employment was impaired by fear of bodily injury.

Would this have happened if the petitioners had relied on the process of reason in a voluntary society, or was it a sample of what happens in backward countries when some force stronger than the individual takes over and prevents freedom of movement? Are injustices remedied by creating more injustices, and is the cause of civil rights advanced by interfering with the civil rights of non-participants in the mass demonstrations?

These are questions which will need answering, and the full effect of what may come to be called "the march in Washington" could be reflected in future elections. For what was proved by the big demonstration—that in free America only the mob can get laws passed covering the issue of "civil rights?"

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N. Y.
Herald
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5/29